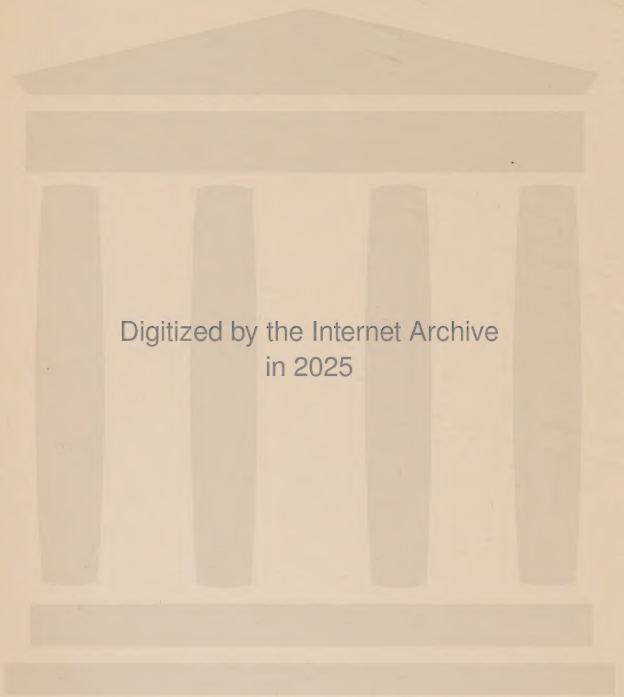
THE WORLD'S DEBT TO THE IRISH

JAMES J. WALSH


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/worldsdebttoiris0000jame_i1l9

THE WORLD'S DEBT TO THE IRISH

THE WORLD'S DEBT *to the* IRISH

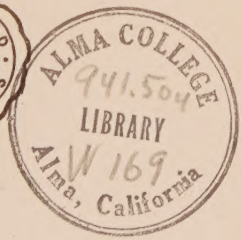
By

JAMES J. WALSH
M.D., Ph.D., Litt.D., etc.

Professor of Physiological Psychology, Cathedral College; Medical Director, Fordham University School of Sociology, New York

Author of

"The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries," "The Century of Columbus," "What Civilization Owes to Italy," "The World's Debt to the Catholic Church," etc.



1926
THE STRATFORD COMPANY, *Publishers*
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

18170

COPYRIGHT —— 1926 —— BY
THE STRATFORD COMPANY
Publishers
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

First Printing, November, 1926
Second Printing, April, 1927

To

PATRICK, CARDINAL O'DONNELL

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

AND

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND

THE SUCCESSOR OF ST. PATRICK

THIS BRIEF ACCOUNT OF WHAT THE WORLD

OWES THE IRISH

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

Preface

IN my younger years I listened to addresses on St. Patrick's Day which seemed to me to be very interestingly characteristic expressions of the natural tendency of the sanguine Irish nature to exaggerate its own significance in the history of civilization. As a young American I was rather amused at the sublime self-complacency, as it seemed to me, of the Irish, in the achievements of their race. As I grew older I looked into the subject seriously to satisfy myself for I had come to the place in life where I too was asked to make Patrick Day's addresses. I was astounded to find how utterly without foundation my amused contempt of Irish racial achievements had been.

My folks are now one hundred years in America. That probably makes a rather thoroughgoing American of me but I appreciate very well that it has not taken out of me abiding sympathy for the Irish and the land of my ancestors. Perhaps then I look on their achievements with too partial an eye, but I have tried to investigate the question of The World's Debt to the Irish as objectively as possible. I have spent not a little of the leisure of twenty-five years trying to find out just what it was the Irish did that deserves a place for them for all time in the world's gratitude. It is the condensed story of the result of my investigations that constitutes this book. I have been rather careful to obtain the in-

formation with regard to Irish affairs to as great an extent as possible from writers who were neither Irish themselves nor of Irish descent. The important authorities as to the place of the Irish in the history of civilization are above all the German and French savants who have devoted themselves to the study of Celtic influences in the world.

The book has one other possible merit that should perhaps commend it particularly to readers who are not of Irish descent or affiliation and which perhaps justifies its appearance. It is written after rather intensive study of other periods and other races besides the Irish, so that it represents the value of comparative researches in the history of civilization, on a background of broad familiarity with what is best in the history of humanity.

I have to thank Mr. Vincent F. O'Reilly, the librarian of the American Irish Historical Society, for reading portions of the manuscript and for many valuable hints.

Contents

		Page
	Preface	i
I.	Introduction	1
II.	Missionaries of Christianity and Culture—Scotland and England	12
III.	Missionaries of Christianity and Culture — Continental Europe, Asia, Africa — America?	32
IV.	Great Irish Literature	52
V.	Influence of Irish Literature on World Literature	71
VI.	Irish Music	89
VII.	The Invention of Rhyme in Poetry	103
VIII.	Beautiful Book Making	120
IX.	Irish Jewelry	149
X.	The Round Tower and the High Cross	168
XI.	St. Patrick	177
XII.	The Breadth and Depth of Irish Education	196

XIII. Ancient Irish Medicine 223
XIV. St. Bridget 250
XV. Bridget's Companions and Successors . 273

APPENDIX

I. Shakespeare's Pronunciation the Irish Brogue 297
II. Irish Initiative and Inventive Genius . 328
III. Modern Irish Missionaries of the Spirit 349
Notes 401

CHAPTER I

Introduction

FIVE peoples in the world's history have made supreme contributions to civilization as we have it at the present time. They are the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Irish and the Italians.[1] Still it is true, to reecho Gladstone, that all of the spiritual heritage of our race we owe to the Hebrews, while to quote Sir Henry Maine, "whatever lives and moves in the intellectual order is Greek in origin." The discount from the sweepingness of these expressions that some might deem necessary would not at its highest diminish materially the value of these claims. The Romans carried on the Greek contributions to civilization for "captive Greece took her captor captive," and while the Romans added only their own great gift of law and justice to the current of civilization, they saved Greek influences from disappearing and they provided the framework on which Hebrew influences erected the enduring structure of Christianity. When the Roman life of the spirit was waning and the torch of civilization was nearly out, the Irish in the distant west of Europe converted as a whole nation to Christianity, picked it up and carried it on adding their own magnificent contribution of great literature, melodious music, rhyme in poetry and fine

decorative art to the light of civilization. Then came the Italians with their wonderful work in the earlier and later Renaissance in all departments of human endeavor.

The story of the influence of these five people in the history of civilization covers the last 3500 years —the all important epoch for modern development —so effectively as to make the contributions of other peoples of but minor importance. These are the beacon lights of the race. Other nations may rise in their turn to claim a place in the progress of the race but down to the present these five people occupy the field of the history of civilization in its course down the ages so completely that they must be considered the protagonists of the movement so far above others in import that there are scarcely seconds to them.

The story of the Irish contribution to civilization which is by far the least known of all needs to be told in condensed form to our generation for it is only in very recent years that the materials for the tale have been available. What a supremely unbelievable thing it is to most people to have it said seriously, that for several centuries of the earlier Middle Ages whenever a man anywhere in western Europe north of central Italy could talk or write Greek, he owed it to an Irishman or to someone who had been taught by an Irishman. From the sixth to the tenth centuries of the Christian era, the Irish were the teachers of the West. Immediately after the conversion to Christianity of the Irish people,

Ireland became quite literally "the island of saints and of scholars," and those desiring an education flocked to it from nearly every part of Europe coming even from the distant shores of the Mediterranean. Not long after their conversion the Irish scholars went out as missionaries, spread the doctrine of Christianity and diffused the light of scholarship and civilization all over the west of Europe.

There was supreme need of their work. The Romans were in utter decadence. The barbarous invaders of Roman territory from the north had come down to the peninsula to take first the vices and as is always the case when an unsophisticated people comes into intimate contact with one more highly civilized, only long afterwards the virtues of the civilization which they threatened at first to destroy completely. This decivilizing effect was felt not only in Italy but practically everywhere in Roman territory. In the midst of it the Irish came to do their part in saving and promoting civilization. They had just gone through a period of intensive cultural development for several centuries in which they had created a great literature,—what we know as the ancient Irish sagas,—second only to that of the Greek in absolute originality and display of knowledge of the basic elements of human nature. On this had been grafted Christianity with its civilizing and cultural influences and the foundation of a series of schools which in their primitive enthusiasm for learning and for the opportunity to diffuse it,

would remind one of the qualities that the chemists used to attribute to the elements of matter when they were in their nascent state.

The Irish took up with enthusiastic ardor then the task of bringing Christianity to the barabarian invaders of the Roman provinces. At the same time they carried across the seas with them culture and the love of beauty and the development of the heart as well as the head. They proceeded to found schools in what we now know as France and Germany as well as Switzerland and Italy and even distant Scandinavia and in Africa and Asia. The names of Irish scholars and saints are associated with the foundations of a great many of the modern centres of civilization and education in those times. Aix, Tours, Marseilles, Salzburg, St. Gall, Bobbio, are only oustanding examples of cities that owed so much to Irish apostles of Christianity and culture that their names are forever in benediction among the citizens of these towns and even in our time, almost a millennium and a half later, their prestige has not faded and their festivals are celebrated by the descendants of the peoples to whom they came.

At home in Ireland the Irish were making the most beautiful books ever made and the level of culture of a people can probably be better appreciated from the kind of books they want to handle than in almost any other way. They were at the same time making the most beautiful jewelry ever fashioned. It was made not for the personal adornment of the rich but for use in religious ceremonials,

or for the sacred vessels of the altar, or to confer distinction upon rulers and those in authority. Fortunately for us a number of magnificent examples of their work in these modes of the creation of the beautiful are still extant, otherwise no one would believe it possible that in the distant west of Europe the Irish of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries had been capable of creating such transcendently beautiful objects.

Their love for music led to the production at the same time of literally thousands of melodies which have enjoyed the widest kind of diffusion all over the world and have added to the joy of human life for countless thousands of people. The most popular airs of a great many of the European peoples are Irish in origin or owe much of their verve and musical quality to Irish melodies. The Irish sense of musical sounds and above all their affection for melody led to the invention of rhyme and its employment in poetry. If the Irish had contributed nothing else to civilization except rhyme in poetry that would have put the world under the deepest kind of an everlasting debt to the Irish people. Only the unsatisfying vagaries of sound in modern free verse enable us to understand how dreary most of our modern poetry would have been only for the felicitous invention of rhyme with its melodious succession of similar sounds at regular intervals by the Irish.

Two supremely great characters were more than any others responsible for this magnificent develop-

ment of the Irish after the introduction of Christianity and for the awakening of the enthusiasm in them which made them missionaries of the spirit and the mind for the rest of the world. These were St. Patrick and St. Bridget and I think that we shall see in the course of this volume that they eminently deserve all that has been said in praise of them by the Irish ever since. St. Patrick literally made of Ireland "the island of saints and of scholars" and above all gave that impetus to education which meant so much in enabling the Irish people to be the saviors of civilization when the invasion of the barbarians threatened seriously to put an end to it.

St. Bridget was a pioneer in education for women. Of course it seems utterly incredible that in the fifth century after Christ there should have been a very definite organization of higher education for women, but no one can doubt the facts with regard to it who studies the ancient records of the Irish people as they have been recovered, not so much in Ireland itself, where unfortunately invasion after invasion of barbarians from the north and then the conquest by the unsympathetic English destroyed most of their historical documents and monuments, but in the libraries of many countries over on the European continent and in the traditions of many places where the Irish were the apostles of Christianity and culture to the European peoples.

It is not surprising to learn that St. Bridget was a founder in feminine education when the status of

women in Ireland at that time is understood. The Irish women had rights such as were enjoyed by the women of no other race and the spirit of chivalry which was destined to lift up reverence for women and create prestige for them had its origin in Ireland as can be seen from the ancient Irish literature. The Irish women enjoyed rights with regard to property that the women of the modern time are now struggling to secure. There were many distinguished women in Ireland besides St. Bridget but she was the heart and soul of the great feministic movement, the knowledge of which makes it easy to understand why the Irish spoke of her as "the Mary of the Gaels," only next in prestige to the Mother of God herself whom they honored so highly, and why her name has been given so freely to the daughters of Irish families and has been held in benediction all over Ireland ever since.

With a great literature, with marvelously beautiful books, with transcendently beautiful jewelry and originality in music far beyond their neighbors that led them to the invention and perfection of rhyme in poetry, it would seem as though the debt of the world to the Irish would be universally accorded. The clan system which gave the Irish freedom and a sense of the brotherhood of man and of genuine democracy unequalled elsewhere, unfortunately left them open to attack by their ruder neighbors. Great fighters individually, they were unprepared for the massed attacks of men who made a life work of fighting, hence the subjection of the Irish people

and the gradual destruction of the records of their great work.

In the more modern time the Irish brogue, that is the Irish mode of pronouncing English, has made them misunderstood by those with whom they came in contact. It was thought that they either were incapable of appreciating English pronunciation properly or through defective organs of speech could not quite compass the sounds that the English uttered. Hence a feeling of depreciation for them that grew up around them. Careful studies in the history of English pronunciation show that the Irish mode of pronouncing English is exactly that used by Shakespeare and which was the rule of language usage in the Elizabethan and Jacobean times. It was at that time that the Irish gave up the use of their native language and took to English and they have kept the pronunciation as it came to them though the English feeling their ownership in the language have seen fit to modify it. Exactly the same thing happened in Ireland as happened in Canada where the Canadian French have preserved the pronunciation of the classical period of French literature in Louis XIV's time which was in vogue when their ancestors came to Canada. It has seemed worth while to emphasize this explanation of the Irish brogue in a special chapter in the Appendix of this volume in order to eliminate a rather serious misunderstanding of the Irish that occurs as the result of it.

Many people wonder why the initiative of the

Irish people which enabled them to accomplish so much in the early centuries after their conversion to Christianity has not been exhibited in our day, but only a little knowledge of what the Irish have accomplished in other countries, when they were not free to develop their genius at home in Ireland makes it clear that they are still possessed of the qualities that as a race enabled them to do so much for themselves and for others a millennium and more ago.

Finally there is a wonderful example of the spirit of the Irish missionaries exhibited by the Irish women of the past hundred years. Social service or care for the poor and the ailing who needed sympathy and aid, had fallen at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the lowest ebb that it has ever been during the history of humanity, but certainly since the foundation of Christianity. This was true above all among the English speaking people. A group of young Irish women recognized the almost utter chaos of social evils which had developed and proceeded to organize agencies that would solve these social problems and eliminate these social abuses. From Ireland these communities of women spread all over the English speaking world, the United States and Canada, South Africa and Australia as well as England and Scotland and even to South America, accomplishing wonderful work wherever they went. There are many thousands of them engaged in the service of humanity in their own quiet, humble, inspiring way. There are some 25,000 of

one Irish Sisterhood doing great good work all over the world. All this is the result of less than a single hundred years of organization. They anticipated Florence Nightingale and indeed gave her the incentive that stimulated her to bring into existence the modern trained nurse. Their story enables the modern reader to understand when it might otherwise be difficult just how the great Irish missionary movement of over a thousand years ago took place.

It has been said that the Irish are the most unmixed race in Europe and can trace their ancestry for several thousand years better than any other people of Europe. The more one knows of them, the clearer it becomes that they have continued to be the same people essentially all down their history. The Irish who 1500 years ago brought back to Europe culture and civilization are the same racial stock as those who at the end of the nineteenth century, when decadence in dramatics and poetry had come to modern civilization, brought in a whole series of new ideas that have proved most effective and stimulating to writers of other nations to bring out the best that was in them. That stimulus to poetry and the drama came out of the very heart of the people and originated with those who participated most in the Irish nature, who had retained all their primitive simplicity and who partook most of the character of the original race.

Now owing to changed political conditions the Irish have a chance to express themeselves once more unhampered by untoward political conditions

and it would seem as though much must be expected of them. It is in the hope to clarify this situation for the benefit of those who are not familiar with Irish history that this volume has been written with a sense of loving devotion to the fatherland of my forbears.

CHAPTER II

Missionaries of Christianity and Culture

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

THE conversion of the Irish people to Christianity by St. Patrick in the latter part of the first half of the fifth century was so opportune in the effect produced by it upon the rest of the civilized world within a comparatively short time, as to be considered quite literally providential by a great many people who know the times well and have a right to an opinion with regard to the sequence of events. During this and the immediately subsequent centuries the Roman Empire was broken up by the hordes of barbarians who had come down from the North and a period of intense decadence of interest in the intellectual and spiritual life ensued. The barbarians, as always when brought in contact with a superior civilization, took first the vices of their betters, while it required a long period for them to acquire the virtues of civilization. The decaying Roman Empire had only too few virtues for the invaders to take at best. For several centuries before this there had been a gradual but very sure deterioration of interest in the things of the mind. With the fall of the Empire under Augustulus in 476 political chaos supervened and with that a climax of barbaric descent in humanitarianism of

all kinds ensued. Literature ceased to be read to a great extent, much less written. Education dropped to such a low ebb as to be almost a vanishing factor. The life of the spirit waned and bodily interests became paramount. A feverish restlessness in seeking after pleasure came to replace whatever culture there had been, and the world was in a very sad way indeed so far as the quest of the higher things that would make life really worth living was concerned.

It was just as this period of decadence got well under way that St. Patrick, the apostle of the Irish, who in his younger years had been carried away from his home to be a slave herder of sheep in Ireland and had escaped, came back to bring Christianity to this people whose character even in his captivity he had learned to admire so much. The conversion of the Irish people came without any bloodshed and in the course of a single generation Ireland, according to the old mode of expression, became "the island of saints and of scholars."*

The pre-Christian Irish had been famous as warriors but also as bards and musicians. They had already created in the immediately preceding centuries a series of great epic poems besides the beginnings of a folklore rich in mystical ideas and a popular music that was destined to affect all the surrounding nations. Christianity came to turn the energies of the Irish that had been spent to a con-

*This expression in the original Latin *insula sanctorum et doctorum* did not come from the Irish themselves, but was the name for their island commonly used by the peoples on the continent. Indeed the Irish clung with peculiar affection to the name of Eire, or Erin, for their homeland.

siderable degree in war, almost entirely in the direction of the cultivation of the arts of peace and the spread of the Gospel. It is a striking characteristic of the Irish people down to our own day to take very seriously to heart whatever interests them and to devote themselves to it with an ardor that usually brings striking achievement in its train. With the advent of Christianity internal quarrels and political troubles of many kinds became ever so much rarer and foreign incursions to which the ancient Irish were prone were changed into peaceful invasions of the countries of western Europe in order to carry to the peoples the truths of Christianity.

The enthusiasm with which this great work of Christianization and civilization was undertaken is almost incredible. It might quite literally be said in typical Irish phrase that a devouring hunger for learning came over the people and at the same time a burning thirst for the spread of Christianity. For several centuries after the coming of Patrick to Ireland by far the most important portion of the history of the land is concerned not with kings and wars nor with politics or strife of any kind, but with the almost endless record of the peaceful activities of many hundreds of saints and the educational efforts of the thousands of teachers of Irish birth and training. They went forth from their native land to spend themselves for Christianity in countries that in those days particularly seemed far distant from home and to devote all their mental and physi-

cal energies for the benefit of those who were sitting in darkness beyond the light of the Gospel.

A typical incident of the history of those times of Irish apostleship during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, is found in the story of the landing of two Irish missionaries at Marseilles in the south of France sometime during the second or third generation after St. Patrick. They went through the streets crying aloud that they had wisdom to sell for all who cared to have it. When they were asked what they meant by such a hawking cry and what wares they had for purchase, they declared that they had Christian knowledge and learning which they wished to share with others. When it was further demanded, what was the price they asked for their wares such as they were, they replied that they were beyond price but that they would gladly give them to all who cared to possess them. Christianity and learning went hand in hand with the Irish saints and scholars and they quite literally burned with ardor to share their possessions with others. The joy of imparting their knowledge and dispensing Christianity to those who would receive it, was worth all the trouble that there might be in the task and the satisfaction which they secured thereby more than repaid them.

It is for this work that the world owes a debt to the Irish. The value of their labors has been recognized especially in recent years by all those who have come to know of them. It has been appreciated very thoroughly that without such unselfish

devotion to the cause as the Irish gave, civilization on the continent would have sunk ever so much lower than it actually did and the return of it would have been delayed for centuries beyond what it actually was. The Irish were quite literally the saviors of civilization. But they did much more than merely redeem the decadent conditions. They supplied gifts of their own to the newly rising civilization which add enormously to the debt that the world owes to them.

These expressions with regard to the significance of the work of the Irish missionaries so far from being confined to Irish annalists among whom they might be dictated by racial and national pride, or to those who from patriotic motives devoted themselves exclusively to Irish studies and lost perspective so as easily to be partial in panegyric of their fellow countrymen, are to be found above all in the writings of men of other nationalities who have studied in an adequate way the period under consideration and the work of the Irish monks in their missionary labors. Kuno Meyer, the distinguished German Gaelic scholar in his introduction to "Ancient Irish Poetry" said:

"Ireland had become the heiress to the classical and theological learning of the western empire of the fourth and fifth centuries, and a period of humanism was thus ushered in which reached its culmination during the sixth and the following centuries. For once, at any rate, Ireland drew upon herself the eyes of the world, as the one haven of rest

in a turbulent world overrun by hordes of barbarians, as the great seminary of Christian and classical learning. Her sons, carrying Christianity and a new humanism over Great Britain and the continent, became the teachers of whole nations, the counsellors of kings and emperors."

Is it any wonder under the circumstances that Meyer adds:

"The Celtic spirit dominated the larger part of the western world and its Christian ideals imparted new life to a decadent civilization?"

This is but a sample of the lofty appreciation for Irish contributions to the salvation of civilization at this critical time which have been published in Germany in recent generations. Fortunately the interest of great German scholars first in the old Gaelic language and secondly in the history of the reawakening of culture in Europe after their barbarian ancestors had very nearly wiped out what there was, and finally their studies in early medieval history, have provided us with abundant testimonials from men who cannot be presumed to have any personal or racial interest in the matter and whose expressions represent the absolute conclusions of their scholarly research.

Görres, the distinguished German historical writer, said of them:

"Monasteries and schools flourished on all sides; and as the former were distinguished for their austere discipline, so the latter were conspicuous for

their cultivation of science. While the flames of war were blazing around her, the Green Isle enjoyed the sweets of repose. When we look into the ecclesiastical life of this people we are tempted to believe that some potent spirits had transported over the sea the cells of the valley of the Nile, with all their hermits; its monasteries with all their inmates, and had settled them down in this Western Isle;—an isle which in the lapse of three centuries gave 850 saints to the Church; won over to Christianity the north of Britain and soon after a large portion of the yet pagan Germany, and while it devoted the utmost attention to the sciences cultivated with special care the mystical contemplation in her religious communities as well as in the saints whom they produced."

What is above all interesting with regard to these Irish missionaries is their unselfish interest in and their ardent devotion to the intellectual affairs of the peoples to whom they went as missioners. Theirs was no chauvinistic nationalism but they were ready to appreciate the feelings and to learn the literature of the various peoples to whom they went and to encourage its development just as far as they could in consonance with Christian influences. Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, the daughter of Professor Stopford Brooke, the distinguished English litterateur, as well as the wife of John R. Green, the historian of the English people, has brought out these characteristics of the Irish very well.

"No church of any land has so noble a record in

the astonishing work of its teachers, as they wandered over the ruined provinces of the empire among the pagan tribes of the invaders. In the Highlands they taught the Picts to compose hymns in their own tongue; in a monastery founded by them in Yorkshire was trained the first English poet in the new England; at St. Gall they drew up a Latin-German dictionary for the Germans of the Upper Rhine and Switzerland, and even devised new German words to express the new ideas of Christian civilization; near Florence one of their saints taught the natives how to turn the course of a river. Probably in the seventh and eighth centuries no one in western Europe spoke Greek who was not Irish or taught by an Irishman. No land ever sent out such impassioned teachers of learning, and Charles the Great (Charlemagne) and his successors set them at the head of the chief schools thoroughout Europe."

Some idea of the immense number of Irish scholars who went forth from these schools in Ireland may be obtained from some of the old records. Ara Multiscilus in his *Schedae de Islandia* sums up the number of Irish saints known to have settled in different parts of Europe in the following statistics. There were 150 of them in Germany of whom 36 were martyrs; 45 in Gaul with 6 martyrs; 30 in Belgium; 44 in England; 13 in Italy and 8 martyrs in Norway and Iceland. They founded altogether over a hundred monasteries outside of Ireland itself. Thirteen of these monasteries were in Scotland; 12 in England; 40 in Gaul; 9 in Bel-

gium; 16 in Bavaria; 15 in Switzerland; 6 in Italy and a number of others in various parts of Germany.

Scotland was the first country to yield to the evangelizing spirit of the Irish. When St. Columcille self-exiled left his beloved Erin as a penance for his acerbitive temper, the nearest place that he could find out of sight of the Irish shores was the island of Iona off the coast of Scotland, so with twelve monk companions he settled there and made it the centre of missionary efforts that very soon brought even the rude Picts of the northern part of Britain under the influence of the Church. As Zimmer says in his article on "The Irish Element in Medieval Culture" (New York, 1891):

"At the beginning of the sixth century the Irish Christians who had been converted by St. Patrick were seized with an unconquerable impulse to wander afar and preach Christianity to the heathens. In 563 Columcille with twelve companions left Ireland and founded a monastery on Iona or Hy through the far flung influence of which the Scots and Picts of Britain became converted to Christianity. Twenty-three missions among the Scots and eighteen in the country of the Picts were established before the death of Columba which took place just as the sixth century was coming to a close (597)."

The work of these Irish monks is forever memorable though its far-reaching significance has been ignored until comparatively recent years. A striking instance of this is to be seen in the true historical relations of the Irish missionaries to the English

people. The conversion of England is almost universally attributed to St. Augustine, not of course the great scholarly bishop of Carthage, but St. Augustine or Austin, who was sent by Pope Gregory the Great on a mission to the English after the pope had seen some of the fairheaded English boys who had been captured and carried off to Rome as slaves, very much as St. Patrick himself was carried to Ireland. When the pope was told that they were *Angli,* he is said to have declared Nay, they are rather *angeli,* "not Angles, but angels." St. Augustine is usually set down as the Apostle of England. Reverend Dr. Reeves, the Protestant bishop of Down and Connor, in his "History of the English Church" does not hesitate to say however, that though St. Augustine arrived in England before the end of the sixth century "Christianity made little headway in the provinces until Aidan, the Irish missionary from Iona, began his labors in Lindisfarne in 634."

So far from Dr. Reeves standing alone in this mode of expression with regard to the Christianization of England, he is on the contrary only one of many authorities who acknowledge the great indebtedness of England to the Irish missionaries. Bishop Lightfoot, Anglican bishop of Durham, for instance, does not hesitate to say:

"Though nearly forty years had elapsed since Augustine's first landing in England the Church was still confined to its first conquest, the southeast corner of the island, the kingdom of Kent."

Indeed there was no little discouragement over the failure of Christianity to spread among the Anglo-Saxons. They proved to be too hard to convert from their barbarous ways and their rude Teutonic superstitions. Christianity was confined to the southeastern angle of Britain. At the end of a generation however the Irish monks came to the Midlands and with them the beginning of a new order in the affairs of Christianity in what we know as England. A wonderful spread of the Gospel followed so that in less than a generation England was Christian. Bishop Lightfoot, himself an Anglican, says that the English people owe their conversion to "those thirty years of earnest, energetic labor carried on by the Celtic missionaries and their disciples from Lindisfarne as their spiritual citadel which ended in the submission of England to the gentle yoke of Christ."[2]

Montalembert, the distinguished French writer and statesman, who might well be expected to hold the balance of judgment fairly between the Irish and the English, is just as outspoken as the distinguished Anglican bishop in his declaration that it was the Irish monks who took up Augustine's work when it had halted, and seemed almost ready to falter, and carried it to a successful conclusion. Writing the history of "The Monks of the West" he was very naturally interested in the fact that there were two sets of monks engaged in missionary labors in England, one group complementing the other. It is from this point of view then that he said in his

characteristic French way, "But what the sons of St. Benedict (the Italian missionaries under St. Augustine) could only begin was completed by the sons of St. Columba" (the Irish missionaries from Iona).

It is extremely interesting to have the English bishop of Durham, Reverend Dr. Lightfoot, declare after careful study of the situation, "Aidan (the Irishman) holds the first place in the evangelization of our race, (the English)." St. Augustine was the apostle of Kent but St. Aidan was the apostle of England.

It is easy to understand then the historical importance of the foundation of this monastery of Lindisfarne. Its founder Aidan came into England at the invitation of King Oswald of Northumbria who had received his faith and his education in Ireland. Aidan's training had been obtained in the monastery of Iona under Columcille. He established his community on what was known as the Holy Isle not far from the Northumberland coast. Aidan was succeeded by Finnan and Finnan by Colman. The greatest of these was undoubtedly Aidan who founded a whole series of monasteries in that northern part of England. Aidan had been well trained for the new responsibilities that came to him as a missionary among the English. He had studied originally under St. Senan at Inniscathay (Scattery Island) as Grattan Flood tells us in his succinct article on him in the Catholic Encyclopedia. He was thought of so highly by his contemporaries that

he was selected as Bishop of Clogher, but resigned that See to become a monk at Iona about 630. His light could not be hid under a bushel in a monastery however and he was selected five years later as the first bishop of Lindisfarne where he was destined to become the apostle of Northumbria. Oswald, the King of Northumbria, had studied under him at Iona and became a very dear friend and admirer. It was, as we have said, through him that St. Aidan was invited to the English mission. The King did everything in the world that he could to help Aidan's missionary labors and like a true Irish scholar, touched with a little of the sanctity that was part of every student from the Irish schools, sometimes interpreted St. Aidan's language to those who assembled to hear him in the early years as a missionary when Aidan was not able to make his audience of Britons understand him in their own tongue.

The Venerable Bede is unstinted in his praise of the wonderful work of St. Aidan and of his Irish monks in their missionary labors. The great English Church historian seems to think of Aidan as a typical instance of what the episcopal rule should be. Bede says that "He was a bishop inspired with a passionate love of Christianity and the virtues of his faith but at the same time full of a surpassing mildness and gentleness." In an Irishman it is probable that that means that Aidan had conquered the naturally ardent spirit within him and transferred his energies from a wordly to other-worldly ambition.

St. Aidan was noted for his charity toward all and his utter unselfishness. The favorite of the king who was extremely generous toward him, Aidan soon became the friend of many of the nobility and they loaded him with gifts. These stayed in his hands only for a very brief time until he could find suitable subjects on whom to bestow them. It was this above all that made him so beloved by the people and enabled him to accomplish so much of good. He was tireless in his missionary work, constantly occupied with preaching, teaching, converting, baptizing, until it seemed almost as though it were impossible for one man to do so much. No wonder that he won the veneration and reverence as well as the love of all those with whom he came in contact,—as his biographer has said,—"noble and simple." His successors, Finnan and Colman, were like him so that it is not surprising that McGeoghegan affirms "that the Saxons of the northern provinces were indebted to these three for the knowledge of the true Gospel." Finnan is only next to St. Aidan himself in accomplishment and it was he who converted Sigebert, king of East Anglia, and Panda, king of the interior provinces, with their courts.

Lindisfarne itself is the best example of the kind of foundation these Irish saints and scholars accomplished. As we have more details with regard to it, it will make their work at other places of which there are many fewer traditions, easier to understand. The resemblance of Lindisfarne to Iona

from which St. Aidan came obtained for it the title of "the Iona of England." This became the episcopal seat of sixteen successive bishops. St. Aidan established a monastic community there conforming himself as the Venerable Bede notes to the practice of St. Augustine at Canterbury. From this monastery, to quote the article on Lindisfarne (Catholic Encyclopedia) written by Father Columba Edmonds, himself a Benedictine of Fort Augustus Abbey in Scotland, and in a position to get close to all the old traditions, were founded all the churches between Edinburgh and the Humber as well as a number of others in this great midland district and in the country of the East Angles. The monastery soon became very famous. St. Adamnán was proud to chronicle the fact that he had visited it and St. Wilfrid, who was afterwards so prominent in the synod of Whitby and subsequently the much persecuted archbishop of York, received his early training there. There are a dozen of holy and famous names associated with Lindisfarne because they were students there. Among them were St. Chad of Litchfield and his brothers, St. Egbert, St. Edilhun, St. Ethelwine, St. Oswy, the king, and the four bishops of the middle Angles — Diuma, Cellach, Trumhere and Jeruman.

After its Irish founders Lindisfarne owes much of its glory to St. Cuthbert who was its bishop for two years and whose incorrupt body was there venerated during two centuries. Like the other islands off the coasts of Britain and Ireland, Lindisfarne

did not escape pillage from the Danes who at the end of the eighth century invaded the island, pillaged the church and slaughtered or drowned the monks. It was realized that there would always be serious danger and while the monks returned for a time they were in dread of further invasion and on the first rumor of the Danes coming in 875 fled carrying with them St. Cuthbert's shrine. Bishop Erdulf who was the occupant of the See at that time was the last to rule it.

It was while the tradition of the Irish founders was at its height that the famous book called the "Lindisfarne Gospels" or sometimes "St. Cuthbert's Gospels" or also the "Durham Book" was written. It is still preserved in the British Museum Library among the Cotton manuscripts. It was written at Lindisfarne by Eadfrid "in honor of St. Cuthbert" about the year 700. It comprises altogether over 250 leaves of thick vellum about ten inches by fourteen. On these are written in double columns with an interlinear Saxon gloss the four Gospels in the Latin of St. Jerome's version. This is the earliest copy of the Gospels in England. It contains besides St. Jerome's epistle to Pope Damasus, his Prefaces, the Eusebian Canons, the arguments of each Gospel and *capitula* or headings of the lessons. It is written in a beautiful uncial hand and adorned with intricate patterns consisting of interlaced ribbons, spiral lines, geometrical knots terminating sometimes in heads of birds and beasts. Before each gospel is a representation of the Evangelist.

This great book remained at Lindisfarne till the flight of the monks at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the ninth century when it was carried away together with the relics, and especially St. Cuthbert's body. The monks attempted to flee to Ireland and during the passage the book fell into the sea but according to the legend it floated miraculously for four days and was rescued. Just as the tenth century was closing it was brought to Durham and then to Lindisfarne when the church was rebuilt and remained there until the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536. It was lost sight of for a hundred years at that time but was bought by Sir Robert Cotton whose collection passed to the British Museum.

Cuthbert is usually considered to have been an English saint but there is a division of authority with regard to that. His early biographers give no particulars of his birth and the accounts in the *"Libellus de ortu"* represent him as the son of an Irish king named Muriadach. This opinion was supported by Cardinal Moran and Archbishop Healy, both of them recognized authorities on Irish hagiology. Miss Stokes says that:

"St. Cuthbert was of Irish birth and after the manner of Irishmen abroad changed his name of Cudrig to Cuthbert. It is stated by Ware in his 'Life of Matthew O'Heney' a Cistercian monk and archbishop of Cashel, A. D. 1194, that this ecclesiastic was the author of a life of St. Cuthbert who was born at Kenanus (the Latin form of the name

Kells) and migrated to Melrose where he remained under the abbots Eata and Boysillus until he was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne in 684."

Venerable Bede declares however that he was born in Britain and English authorities suggest that he was born in Mialros (Melrose). Ware already referred to quotes an entry in "The Annals of St. Mary" where it is stated that St. Cuthbert was born four miles from Dublin at Kilmocdurig or Kilmashogue Mountain. He must be counted among the Irish missionary influences in England and his "Gospels,"—almost as well known as the Book of Kells,—the precious treasure of the British Museum, belongs to the Irish tradition of beautiful illuminated books.

As we shall see in the chapter on Beautiful Book Making its binding is a striking example of Irish decorative work in leather.

The extent to which the Irish are responsible for the thoroughgoing conversion of England to Christianity may be gathered from Mrs. Green's brief paragraph with regard to the second half of the seventh century. She said:

"In 662 there was only one bishop in the whole of England who was not of Irish consecration, and this bishop, Agilberct of Wessex, was a Frenchman who had been trained for years in Ireland. The great school of Malmesbury in Wessex was founded by an Irishman as that of Lindisfarne had been in the north."

Malmesbury owed its origin to Maildulf, an Irish monk and teacher who founded a mission in this border settlement between the Welsh and English on the confines of the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia. The school attracted many pupils and among them Aldhelm, a near relative of King Ina of Wessex, who after a sojourn at Canterbury was placed in charge of the school which greatly prospered. Malmesbury was the home of many celebrated men, as for instance John Scotus Erigena, Oliver Elmer, mechanician, astronomer and aeronaut, Fabricius of Arezzo, physician and monk, Godfrey of Malmesbury, and most famous of all, William Somerset, known as William of Malmesbury, after Bede the greatest of the English medieval historians.

With the conversion of the English by the Irish missionaries, Ireland became know to Englishmen and they crowded to the schools in Ireland. It seems almost an incredible exaggeration but Mrs. Green has told in her little volume on "The Irish Nationality" which is one of the volumes of the Home University Library published in England and this country, the story of this peaceful invasion of Ireland by the English in simple condensed form that of itself carries weight as to the truth of the assertions.

"Fleets of ships bore students and pilgrims who forsook their native land for the sake of divine studies. The Irish most willingly received them all, supplying to them without charge food and books

and teaching, welcoming them in every school from Derry to Lismore, making for them a 'Saxon Quarter' in the old university of Armagh. Under the influence of the Irish teachers the spirit of racial bitterness was checked, and a new intercourse sprang up between English, Picts, Britons, and Irish. For a moment it seemed as though the British Islands were to be drawn into one peaceful confederation and communion and a common worship bounded only by the ocean. The peace of Columcille, the fellowship of learning and of piety, rested on the peoples."

That vision of peace was rudely disturbed by Saxon and Danish invasions of the islands.

Meantime the Irish had proceeded with their apostolic work of spreading Christianity and civilization among the barbarous invaders of the continental countries, but that must be reserved for the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

Missionaries of Christianity and Culture

CONTINENTAL EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA;—AMERICA?

THE conversion of England as we have seen was due to the Irish missionaries. The conversion of Scotland was an earlier task performed by the same agents with like success. What was accomplished from Lindisfarne for western, central and northern England had been achieved for Scotland in very similar fashion from the mother house of Iona. These two nations occupied only the sister island however, separated from Ireland by a narrow sea or straits and only comparatively little of the missionary spirit that sends men to long distances from home was needed for the workers in these regions. But the spirit of the Irish missionaries led them to wander ever so much farther afield than this. They went over to the continent not only to France and Italy as well as to the not distant coasts of the North Sea, but they also went up along the Baltic and to the end of the Mediterranean and made foundations near old Carthage in Africa as well as in Asia Minor. They ventured greatly daring up to Iceland and there is even definite question, which some answer in the affirmative, as to whether they did not go all the way across the Atlantic to

America. Certainly there are some traditions in this regard that have attracted serious attention from some of the best authorities on the pre-Columbian history of America. This chapter of Irish history is one of the most important for this question of the world's debt to the Irish.

The Irish of the modern time scarcely realized how great was the merit of their forefathers in carrying on the torch of civilization at a difficult period in the world's history, until the great German scholars of the last two generations who devoted themselves to the study of Celtic philology and Gaelic remains, proclaimed the wonderful place that the Irish had made for themselves in the history of the intellectual development not only of Ireland itself but also Scotland and England and the continent of Europe during the early part of the Middle Ages. Professor Heinrich Zimmer, for instance, who was the professor of Celtic at the University of Berlin in the latter part of the nineteenth century after long and intensive studies of what the Irish had done at this time could scarcely be emphatic enough in his declaration of how much the world was indebted to the Irish. His expressions are strong enough to satisfy even the most ardent of Irishmen. In an article on the place of the Irish in the history of civilization in the *Preussische Jahrbucher* (1887), he said:

"Ireland can indeed lay claim to a great past; she can boast not only of having been the birthplace

and abode of high cultivation in the fifth and sixth centuries,—at the time when the Roman Empire was being undermined by the alliances and inroads of the German tribes which threatened to sink the whole continent into barbarism,—but also to have made strenuous efforts in the seventh and up to the tenth century to spread her learning among the German and Romance peoples thus forming the actual foundation of our present civilization."

He adds further:

"At the beginning of the sixth century these Irish Christians were seized with an unconquerable impulse to wander afar and spread Christianity to the heathens. In 563 Columba with a dozen of companions left Ireland and founded a monastery on a small island off the coast of Scotland (Iona); in 590 Columbanus and another group of a dozen companions founded a missionary monastery at Anagratum in the Vosges Mountains in northeastern France and later another at Luxivium (Luxeuil), which became a most fruitful centre of ecclesiastical and monastic life for all that region. In 610 Columbanus founded another monastery at the foot of the Apennines between Genoa and Milan which throughout the Middle Ages bore a high reputation as a seat of learning."

He summed this work up briefly in another paragraph:—

"An off-shoot of the monastery founded by St. Columba in the island of Iona was founded in Lindisfarne in Northumbria; in 590 Columbanus and his

companions established a monastery at Luxeuil and later another at Bobbio in Italy. They founded another at St. Gall in Switzerland while St. Fridolin founded still another upon the Rhine in Germany. St. Fiacre founded another in Brabant; and St. Fursey still another on the river Marne. There was another Irish founder in Italy, St. Cataldo (in Irish Cathal) whose work extended as far as Tarentum."

Bishop Shahan, the Rector of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., has said in his volume on "St. Patrick in History" of these wandering Irish saints and scholars:

"Their roll-call begins at Iona and Lindisfarne, Ripon and Malmesbury, and goes on to the far southern lands of Europe, to Luxeuil and Annegray and Fontaines in the Vosges, to Bobbio, splendor of medieval scholarship in the rugged Apennines, to the fair meadows of Reichenau in the lovely Rhineland, to St. Gall, that Swiss stronghold of Irish clerics, whence swarmed forth countless missionaries into every part of the wild Aleman land."[a]

Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, the wife of John Richard Green the historian of the English people, in her recently published book "History of the Irish State," presents from Dom Louis Gougaud's "Les Chrétientés Celtiques," a portion of the map of Europe showing some of the cities which began as settlements made by Irish missionaries. Among them are such important places as Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Malines, Liége, Paderborn, Soissons, Verdun. She says as so many others have said,

"From the time of Columbanus a succession of Irish pilgrims and missionaries and teachers never failed during four hundred years." She herself has been visiting some of the little known places in Italy where celebrations in honor of Irish saints of long ago are still held by the inhabitants every year. She sums up the story of the Irish missionaries in one crowded paragraph.

"Their work of restoring culture and Christian faith to a shattered Europe reached south as far as Tarentum, and east to Kiev, in the highway of trade through Russia to the Black Sea. It was said of them that the habit of pilgrimage had become to the Irish almost a second nature, so amazing was the number of the wanderers, and so wide the limits of their journeying. The *peregrini* founded schools of classical and ecclesiastical learning and the fine art of writing. They taught the skilled methods of agriculture which had been developed in Ireland. . . . One of the wonders of European history will always be the story of the Irish missionaries, and the wealth of charity with which they liberally gave back to Europe what they had received from it. An honorable record remains in the remembrance of Continental peoples through ten or fifteen hundred years. There are whole tracts of Europe where Irish saints are still held in reverence. St. Brigid enjoys a remarkable popularity through all western Europe, especially in the country parts of Brittany, the district of St. Omer, among the Walloon peasantry, and in Liguria; St. Colman in the Palatinate, Suabia, Bavaria, Austria and Hungary; St. Brendan

throughout the German provinces along the Baltic coast; St. Columban in Germany and Brittany; St. Fursa in Picardy and the diocese of Amiens; St. Gall in sixty Swiss localities; in Bavaria, in more than a dozen German, Lorraine and Alsatian churches; St. Fiacre in Alsace and many other regions."[4]

The enthusiasm of these Irish scholars was even more remarkable than their attainments though it is a never ending source of surprise in the modern time to realize and appreciate properly their intellectual acquirements. For instance Mrs. Green says of Columbanus, that second of the great Irish apostles bearing the name of Columba, that he was

"a stern ascetic, a flame with religious passion, a finished scholar bringing from Ireland knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, of rhetoric, geometry and poetry joined with a fine taste. Columbanus battled for twenty years with the vice and ignorance of half pagan Burgundy. Scornful of ease, indifferent to danger, astonished at the apathy of Italy as compared with the zeal of Ireland in teaching, he argued and denounced" (in true Irish fashion it might be said) or as he himself said "with the freedom of speech which accords with the custom of my country."

This characteristic of the Irish, their intensity of purpose and lofty enthusiasm that carried them on in spite of difficulties and obstacles that might discourage the hardiest, was well recognized by the neighboring peoples during the Middle Ages. Hence

the famous phrase — *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*. As Bishop Shahan has said:

"This burning temperament of soul manifested itself in the immense joy of war for war's sake, in the pleasures of the hunt and the passion of a life spent habitually in the open, in athletic games and races, in competition and rivalry with the animal world, in efforts to pierce the secrets of their wonderful ocean and to reach the mythical, mystical land that ever beckoned westward."

When this genius of the Irish people was turned to higher, holier things there was no limit to the efforts that they put forth for the lofty purposes they had in mind. This is the secret of the achievements they succeeded in making so successfully in those centuries of the early Middle Ages when a great force such as theirs was so sadly needed by the disturbed world of the time.

The Very Reverend Dr. Merrivale in his volume on "The Continental Teutons" in the series on "The Conversion of the West," has much to say with regard to the Irish missionaries in Germany. This distinguished English authority in history is not likely to exaggerate the significance of the work done by the Irish missionaries so that his expressions may be taken as an irreducible minimum of their accomplishment. He says:

"The establishment of the faith among the Celtic population of Ireland in the fourth and fifth centuries does not come within the scope of this volume,

nor shall we delay to remark upon the energy with which its ministers threw themselves in the first instances upon the opposite coast of Scotland, and effected to a great extent the conversion of the Caledonians. The apostle of Scotland was St. Columba, whose name is still perpetuated in the I-Colmkill, the island of Columba of the Churches, among the Hebrides. About fifty years later, early in the seventh century, the same name, with a slight variation, — which has caused some confusion in the accounts of modern writers,—viz., Columbanus or Columban, introduces us to another Irish missionary, who first frequented the court of the Frankish kings, and when he had excited the animosity of the wicked queen Brunehault, the Jezebel of ancient France, betook himself to the German pagans on the outskirts of the Austrasian dominions. The direction which Columban took was towards the south. He ascended the Rhine as far as the Lake of Constance, and founded a monastic establishment at Brigantium, or Bregenz."

Merrivale also tells of Columban's further missionary wandering, and his migration to the farther side of the Alps "where he preached among the relapsed believers of Northern Italy and founded the illustrious monastery of Bobbio." He calls attention to the fact that Columban, like so many of the other Irish missionaries, knew how to inspire those associated with him with his own missionary zeal and so left behind him in the Trans-Alpine or Swiss country "a faithful band of Irish auxiliaries one of whom known as St. Gall established the monastery

which has perpetuated his name near the Lake of Constance." He adds:

"Meanwhile, the Gospel was carried by other Irish adventurers further into the interior of Germany. Thuringia, the region between the Main and the Danube, had enjoyed but little of the Roman civilization, and hitherto still less of Christian preaching. But at the end of the sixth century a queen, named Radegunde, had abjured the errors of her pagan ancestors, and had manifested her zeal as a convert in burning the temple of the national idols. Her people, however, still continued to be pagan, and when the Austrasian king Dagobert visited the country, which was nominally subject to him, in 622, he found it still deeply sunk in heathen barbarianism. Odilon, one of the chiefs, having a sick relative at his house when he was about to join the sovereign's retinue, gave orders to cut off the dying man's head and burn the corpse; for such was the law of his religion, that those who were in mortal sickness should be slain with the sword, in order to entitle them to enter the gates of Odin's Valhalla. Still later, an Irish bishop, named Kilian, accompanied by the priest Colman and the deacon Totnan, penetrated as far as Würzburg, on the Main, and having satisfied himself that the spot was suitable for a Christian mission, repaired in person to Rome, to engage Pope Conon to allow him to evangelize the still pagan Thuringians. The prince of the country solicited baptism; but, as he had for his queen the wife or possibly the widow of his brother, and the Church demanded the abandonment of this incestuous union, the wicked woman, like another Herodias,

procured his assassination, together with that of his companions. The story, whether true or not, may be taken as a type of the contest which the Church undoubtedly waged against the corrupt passions of the kings and queens of paganism. There seems to have been no lack of courage among the preachers of the faith, in the attacks they made upon wickedness in high places, as long at least as they were sustained by the ardour of missionary zeal."

Merrivale does not hesitate to say that "the Irish missions headed as we have seen by Columban formed the most interesting feature in the progress of the faith in Germany through the period which has now been reviewed." He adds:

"Towards the middle of the eighth century three pilgrims from Ireland presented themselves to the Bavarians,—the hermit Alto, whose cell became the cradle of the abbey of Altenmunster; the bishop Dobla, surnamed the Grecian, perhaps for his reputed knowledge of the ancient tongue of Christendom; and the monk Virgilius (known by the Irish at St. Ferghil), who built a church at Salzburg, which he dedicated to St. Rupert, and in which he set up his throne (as bishop). Mention is made of his labours among the Carinthians; but a peculiar interest may attach to him from the circumstances of his having guessed apparently the existence of antipodes on the surface of the earth's globe, for which, it is said, that he was denounced to the Holy See and condemned. The advocates of the Papacy repudiate this allegation against Rome; they admit, however, that the holy missionary, St. Boniface, of whom we

are to hear more presently, took an unfair prejudice against this good man, and did actually accuse him to Pope Zachary of various errors, and particularly of having declared that there existed beneath the earth another world, and that there dwelt upon it a race of men who had no share in the sin of Adam or in redemption through Christ. Doubtless the pontiff inquired into the truth of this charge, but as we find that the accused was raised soon afterwards to the archbishopric of Salzburg, and at a later period was canonized by a successor of Zachary, we are bound, it is said, to conclude that he found means of reconciling the conjecture, which was not a new one, with the dogmas of the Catholic faith. And so, in the progress of discoverey, first north and west, and afterwards south and east, the fact that this earth is globular became gradually recognized and accepted by the Church."

Mrs. Green in her volume "Irish Nationality" in the "Home University" series, has condensed into a brief paragraph some of the European, Asiatic and African wanderings of these Irish missionaries in a way that makes their work very impressive. There was literally not a country of western Europe including Italy as far south as Naples that was not full of their labors. They even went into the Near East working in Asia and they settled in Carthage and on the south of the Mediterranean Sea carrying their missionary labors into Africa.

"Ireland, however, for four hundred years to come still poured out missionaries to Europe. They

passed through England to northern France; by the Rhine and the way of Luxeuil they entered Switzerland; and westward they reached out to the Elbe and Danube, sending missionaries to Old Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria, Salzburg and Carinthia; southwards they crossed the Alps into Italy, to Lucca, Fiesole, Rome, the hills of Naples, and Tarentum. Their monasteries formed resthouses for travellers through France and Germany. Europe itself was too narrow for their ardour, and they journeyed to Jerusalem, settled in Carthage, and sailed to the discovery of Iceland."[5]

The extent to which these Irish missionaries wandered is perhaps best illustrated by the traditions that have gathered around the name of St. Brendan. He was born near the present town of Tralee, County Kerry, with the Atlantic not far away, so that it is not surprising perhaps that he had in his blood the navigator's urge for travel to distant parts. There are doubtless many legends related of him that are mere fiction, and it is hard to winnow the facts though undoubtedly there seems to be excellent foundation for the traditions that tell of his voyages to long distances.

His name is in great reputation among the German provinces along the Baltic Sea and almost needless to say that would represent very distant travel in those days. As to whether he ever reached America or not, is as yet in doubt. Father De Roo, in the first of his two volumes on the "History of America Before Columbus," supplies the material

which would enable one to understand what are the grounds for thinking that St. Brendan may have come to America. Among the Northmen there is a tradition that some of their navigators found a region south of Vineland and perhaps even farther south than Chesapeake Bay which because of the pallor of its inhabitants or perhaps because they wore white garments they called *Hvitramamaland,* "the Land of the White Man." They even seem to have had some idea that the Irish had gone to those shores for according to a very old tradition they called it *"Irland ed mikla,"* Ireland the Great, or Greater Ireland.

There seem to be some Indian traditions in this country confirming this and telling of the visits of white men or white robed priests who came over the seas. According to very old traditions these white men brought with them various implements made of iron. The well known *Navigatio Brendani,* "The Voyaging or Wandering of St. Brendan," sometimes spoken of as the Odyssey of Brendan can be traced back to as early as the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and is mentioned by a Benedictine chronicler at this time. The Latin original dates back for at least more than a century earlier. It contains a description of foreign animals and plants which could only have been obtained by visiting the western continent. Almost needless to say an immense literature has gathered round the name of St. Brendan because of this, and modern

studies in geography and history have brought him more and more into prominence. His name is now one that is always mentioned with respect by writers on geography. Some years ago a medal in his honor as Brendan, the navigator, was struck here in America, and there seems no doubt that his fame instead of diminishing as time goes on has increased in prestige, as have indeed all cognate Irish subjects as the result of the faithful investigation of traditions and documents not by the Irish themselves but by the Germans and French and by other modern students of the subject.*

One of the great surprises of the development of archeology and prehistoric geography here in America was that the Indians of Central America and Southern Mexico had traditions of respect for the Cross and for other symbols associated ordinarily with Christianity that were very hard to account for. If these represented old-time, almost forgotten, traditions of visits of Irish monks, it would be very easy to understand them. Hints of white-robed priests and of reverence for virginity and other Christian customs would fit in very well with the tradition of Irish missionaries. Because of these traditions at one time it was said that St. Thomas the Apostle might have extended his missionary wanderings to America. What we know of Irish missionaries however would make it easy for us to believe that even so long a journey as to the distant shores of America would not be too much

for them to attempt if there had but once been any communication established. Irish monks traveled under just as difficult circumstances through the forests of Germany and among the distant tribes on the Russian plains and there is even the well authenticated story of Odoric the Franciscan friar who in the thirteenth century went out into Asia probably as far as China and whose journeys constitute the basis of what is known as Sir John Mandeville's Travels. Odoric was accompanied by an Irish monk and attributes not a little of the success of his journey to this faithful Irish companion.

This name *Irland* used with regard to the continent of America by the Scandinavians would seem to make it clear that there was a rather definite tradition among seafaring folk that the Irish had reached land on the other side of the Atlantic. Rafn, the learned Scandinavian antiquarian, does not hestitate to say that

"Judging from the ancient documents we can have no doubt that greater Ireland was settled before the year 1000 by a Christian colony from Ireland."

Our own American De Costa said:

"Ari Marston's connection with Ireland the Great though undoubtedly real hardly proves what may nevertheless be true, the pre-Scandinavian discovery of America by the Irish." He adds, "This not improbable view demands clearer proof and will repay investigation."

In his work on "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America" De Costa says:

"The Irish of early times might easily have passed over to the western continent for they undoubtedly had facilities for the voyage."

Bancroft declares:

"There is no great improbability that the natives of Ireland may have reached by accident or otherwise the northeastern coast of the new continent in very early times."

Justin Winsor is more restrained, but says:

"The extremely probable and almost necessary pre-Columbian knowledge of the northern parts of America follows the adventurous spirit of the sailors of the north Atlantic seas after fish and traffic, and from the easy transition from coast to coast by which they could have been lured to seek more southerly climes."

Rafn in his "American Antiquities" after noting that the Irish had discovered and partly settled Iceland before the Scandinavians took possession of it, does not hesitate to say that

"it is but natural to admit that the Irish who at the time were far advanced in science and civilization, should have from the same islands started on voyages of exploration and succeeded as well; even so as to become acquainted with parts more attractive than the frigid regions and to establish themselves farther south."

He recalls the tradition regarding the region called *Irland it mikla* or greater Ireland, a name which clearly intimates as he says, that Irish people went there from their native country. He is quite confident that

"history will do justice one day to the Irish and to the Scandinavians, as well as to the Spanish; because it was not the fault of the Irish that no general communication was established between Europe and America in a former period, but rather the state of utter division of European nations which prevented them from knowing either their own interests or even one another."

In a word during the past generation an immense amount of information has accumulated which makes it very clear that the Irish monks of the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth centuries were apostles of civilization in the countries which had been overrun by the barbarians of the north and that they carried with them everywhere in their wanderings their broad interests in the intellectual as well as the spiritual. These interests were as varied as the state of learning of the time permitted and as a result the missionaries wielded an immense influence over the people of the different countries. The best evidence for this is to be found in the fact that their names are held in benediction in these distant foreign countries ever since. People above all of foreign race do not recall with reverence and admiration all down

the centuries afterwards the names of any but those who they feel have brought to them a very precious treasure for the significance of life. There are literally hundreds of these Irish monks remembered all over Europe and their birthday or their death day celebrated many hundreds of miles away from their homes for hundreds of years after they have passed from existence. The Irish monks were real missionaries of Christianity and culture to these people and they unselfishly devoted themselves to the care of those who had no claim on them except in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, so forgetting about themselves the world will never willingly forget them. This is an extremely important truth in the history of what the world owes to the Irish.

The wonderful diffusion of Christianity by the Irish all over the world civilized and uncivilized in the early Middle Ages, is not surprising to those who stop to think what has been accomplished for Catholic Christianity in the modern time. In that regard the Irish exiles from their native land, fleeing famine and persecution at home have been apostles similar to their ancestors of fifteen hundred years ago, for the far-flung English speaking world at least, but also far beyond that. The descendants of these Irish form the backbone of the Catholic Church in the United States as well as in Canada. They constitute the fundamental elements in the Church of Australia and New Zealand. They represent the important factors for its upbuilding in

South Africa. Quite as they redeemed the old Roman Empire when barbarian invasion had brought about its decadence, so the Irish have followed the path of the British Empire and in distant India as well as in Egypt and wherever else British influence has been felt, Irish Catholicity has made itself a powerful element for the diffusion of the Christian religion. Dom Louis Gougaud, O. S. B. in his recent volume which is thoroughly documented and written with such scholarly conservatism, "The Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity" with the secondary title "The Work and Influence of Irish Monks and Saints in Continental Europe from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries" (New York, 1925) says in reference to the Irish evangelization of western civilization at that time, that it can be best understood by recalling the events of our own time. The Irish left their homes in the sixth and seventh and eighth centuries to carry the Gospel with them "even as do in our day the unnumbered exiles of the Irish diaspora who are spread over the wide surface of the globe."[7]

Now that modernism is making such inroads on essential Christianity as to make it very dubious whether there will not occur such a dilution of Christian doctrine as to make shipwreck of the Faith among the sects, the presence of this great conservative racial element so firmly rooted in simple faith, may mean as much throughout the English speaking world at least as did the Irish evangelization of the

early Middle Ages for the maintenance of belief in Christ's divinity. After all there are many voices which proclaim that the newer barbarism and paganism is rapidly bringing about such a state of affairs in the modern world as existed so strikingly in the later days of the Roman Empire. It will be very curious to see how all this will be viewed a thousand years hence when the realities of things and their true significance will be manifest.

CHAPTER IV

Great Irish Literature

THE definite demonstration of the intellectual genius of the Irish people and especially of the height and depth of their poetic inspiration, came in the early centuries of the Christian era when their pre-Christian poets sketched a series of great sagas which in the course of the immediately subsequent centuries developed into great epic poems. These proved on their recovery from oblivion in the modern time the greatest possible surprise to the critics of the world, for it has come to be universally acknowledged now under the leadership of French and German scholars that the Irish of this period composed a series of epics which for depth of feeling and acumen in characterization are almost unrivalled in the history of literature. These great Irish poems exhibit a profound knowledge of human nature that has almost never been equalled and probably never surpassed except by the Greeks.

The result of several centuries of elaboration first by oral tradition and then by the written word, was an epochal achievement in literature through the creation of a series of characters that will never die so long as this stage of our civilization lasts. The Irish poets created a new literature by the description of the lives and activities of a number of men

and women as true to life as those of Homer. These characters have come to be known everywhere since the modern revival of knowledge of Irish literature. Deirdre, for instance, was the Irish Helen whose transcendent beauty brought only sadness in its train for those who loved her and whom she loved. Emer, on the other hand, was the Irish Andromache long courted and tried by journeys and feats she set for her lover and whom then she gloried in and watched over until he went out to meet his fate. Cuchulain is the Irish Achilles famed for his prowess in arms and the depth of his friendship, who when he loses his best friend proves as susceptible to grief and as unrestrainedly demonstrative of it as ever the original Achilles or any of his fellow chieftains at the siege of Troy.

The fame of this Irish poetry is not due to any mere conventional attention to Irish literature as the result of the revival of interest in things Gaelic but is due to the fact that here is great creative work in poetry. Several of the epics are written around such sordid themes as cattle raids, and yet the essential humanity of men described in the midst of their war-like efforts have always stirred men's pulses and made them feel how close they were in brotherhood to these men of the long ago. President Roosevelt found some of the best diversions from his burden of duties as President of the United States in a rather stirring time, in occupation of mind with these Gaelic heroes and the Gaelic epic poetry of some sixteen hundred years ago. He was quite ready to confess

that he felt that the men who had written such poetry had deep in their hearts the knowledge of human nature such as is given only to the poet who deserves the name of seer because he can see farther into human nature than other people. The rest of us are glad to borrow his penetrating vision to make up for our purblindness because this enables us to see profoundly into nature in a way that would otherwise not be possible and we reach a new joy in life by his aid.

President Roosevelt's expression was only an echo of what was said by a great many other students of literature whose attention had been attracted to the Gaelic remains and who came to realize that in them was to be found material for the solution of many problems with regard to humanity in its higher interests long ago. The Irish development was all the more interesting because it occurred just at the beginning of the Middle Ages when ordinarily it is assumed that the human race was just on the verge of a period of decadence during which all the higher interests were to be in almost total eclipse. Their supreme surprise at finding the lofty significance of the old Gaelic remains is to be noted in many of the expressions that these distinguished savants use. York Powell for instance, the well known English student of history, declared that "no Aryan literature has such help to give the archeologist and student of human development as the old Gaelic literature."

Some of these men did not hesitate to draw com-

parisons between the literary and historic values of the old Greek and Hindu literatures when placed beside the Irish literary remains. To some of them at least it seemed to be clear that strange as the thought might be, here in Ireland in the far distant west separated from Greece and India by thousands of miles, humanity had come to a mode of expression worthy to be placed alongside the precious heritage of the intellectual and religious life as it is to be studied in Greece and India and their great literatures. Indeed it seemed as though there was something more primitive, less sophisticated and therefore more valuable as a hint of the profounder nature of man and his interests, in Ireland, than in those eastern countries. Andrew Nutt for instance said:

"We owe to Ireland the preservation of conceptions and visions more archaic in substance if later in record than the great mythologies of Greece and Vedic India."

Dr. Douglas Hyde has said:

"Every one knows now or ought to know that Irish is like Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, a pure Aryan language and a highly inflected and very beautiful one also. The modern continental scholars who have studied it (and who now freely admit that Old Irish ranks near to Sanskrit in importance for the philologist) all speak of it in terms of the highest praise."

He adds what can scarcely help to prove a very

striking demonstration of scholarly evaluation of the old tongue.

"One German has said that had it (Old Irish) been cultivated continuously down to the present day, it would, flexible as it is, have been found as equal to the wants and emergencies of modern life as German itself."

Almost needless to say when a German admits that much there can be no doubt at all that he is thoroughly persuaded of the latent powers and possibilities of this old Gaelic tongue.

The value of this ancient literature of the Irish as seen through the eyes of a practical man of the modern time who was familiar with the literatures of many countries and had a deeply critical spirit yet at the same had himself made significant contributions to literature, can perhaps be best appreciated from President Roosevelt's estimation of it in the concluding paragraph of his article on "The Ancient Irish Sagas" (Century Magazine, January, 1907). He said:

"The Erse tales have suffered from many causes. Taken as a mass, they did not develop as the sagas and the epics of certain other nations developed; but they possess extraordinary variety and beauty, and in their mysticism, their devotion to and appreciation of natural beauty, their exaltation of the glorious courage of men and of the charm and devotion of women, in all the touches that tell of a long-vanished life, they possess a curious attraction of

their own. They deserve the research which can be given only by the life-long effort of trained scholars; they should be studied for their poetry, as countless scholars have studied those early literatures; moreover, they should be studied as Victor Berard has studied the 'Odyssey' for reasons apart from their poetical worth; and finally they deserve to be translated and adapted so as to become a familiar household part of that literature which all the English-speaking peoples possess in common."

How immense this literature is only those who are closely in touch with current researches in the matter are able to understand. Professor Dunn in his volume on "The Ancient Irish Epic Tale, Tain Bo Cualnge 'The Cualnge Cattle-Raid,' " says:

"The Gaelic Literature of Ireland is vast in extent and rich in quality. The inedited manuscript materials, if published, would occupy several hundred large volumes. Of this mass only a small portion has as yet been explored by scholars. Nevertheless three saga-cycles stand out from the rest, distinguished for their compass, age and literary worth, those, namely, of the gods, of the demi-god Cuchulain, and of Finn son of Cumhall. The Cuchulain cycle, also called the Ulster cycle—from the home of its hero in the North of Ireland—forms the core of this great mass of epic material. It is also known as the cycle of Conchobar, the king round whom the Ulster warriors mustered, and, finally, it has been called the Red Branch Cycle from the name of the banqueting hall at Emain Macha in Ulster."

A great many people have been inclined to feel that this poetry of the Irish cannot mean very much for world literature because most of it and undoubtedly some of the best of it is concerned with nothing more significant than cattle raids or clan or province rivalries of one kind or another over their herds. Those who are entrenched in a critical spirit of this kind are committed to the idea that great poetry must have a higher source of inspiration than such sordid subjects. When it is recalled however that so far as there is any basis for Homer's great epics these too were founded on transactions of one kind or another concerned much more with trade rivalries between the Grecian Islands and the Greek coast of Asia Minor, it will be far better appreciated that it is not the subject but the poet himself that ennobles his poetry. It is now very well recognized that commercial rivalries between the islands and the mainland at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea were the underlying reasons for the gathering together of the vessels and the followers of the various chieftains; and for the siege of Troy itself during the ten years that it lasted. After 3,000 years modern Europe, and indeed all our western civilization, had an experience of not very dissimilar kind that should be illuminating as far as regards the significance of war. When the spheres of influence of great civilized nations were interfered with, we witnessed a conflict to which the insignificant siege of Troy was but a trifle.

The carrying off of Helen was at best only an

excuse for the expedition. The chronology of Helen's life is rather startling in the age that it would assign to her at this time. Poetic imagination has gifted her with all the charms of youth and even the old men at Troy who gazed on her beauty are said to have said when looking upon it, that it was worth all the trouble that it had brought upon the nation though they added that now they were willing that she should be returned. There is more than a little serious doubt however, as to whether Helen ever actually was at Troy or whether she stayed there for the whole length of the siege. After all it would have been easy for her to have taken up her residence elsewhere since not infrequently during the ten years the Greeks withdrew from the shore in their boats in order to secure materials of one kind or another with which to continue the siege. Herodotus, who has very seldom been found to be wrong, by any of our modern sources of documentary or monumental history even by the Egyptian or various Grecian and Asia Minor excavations, was quite ready to tell the story that Helen remained in Egypt and never went to Troy at all. Troy itself was a much smaller place than most people have any idea of. It is only when we recognize the comparative triviality of the subject that Homer had to treat that we realize his greatness as a poet. After all the word poet in Greek means maker, creator, and not a writer of history nor even a retailer of tales. After reflections of this kind it becomes much easier to appreciate that the Irish poets also found their

subjects no more important in reality than that of Homer until they made them supremely significant by their genius.

The cattle drives or raids were of rather common occurrence in ancient Irish life for they were to a great extent a pastoral people and they represented the events of greatest importance in the life of the time. It was such events that brought out the inherent qualities of human nature as they have always existed and it is with these and not with the things they may happen to be concerned with that the poet has to do. Professor Dunn, professor of Gaelic literature at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., in his Preface to the volume on "The Ancient Irish Epic Tale, Tain Bo Cualnge 'The Cualnge Cattle-Raid'," discussed this subject of the significance of such cattle raids in a way to make it easier to understand their contemporary significance.

"The prominence accorded to this class of stories in the early literature of Ireland is not to be wondered at when the economic situation of the country and the stage of civilization of which they are the faithful mirror is borne in mind. Since all wars are waged for gain, and since among the Irish, who are still very much a nation of cattle raisers, cattle was the chief article of wealth and measure of value, so marauding expeditions from one district into another for cattle must have been of frequent occurrence, just as among the North American Indians tribal wars used to be waged for the acquisition of horses. That this had been a common practice

among their kinsmen on the Continent also we learn from Caesar's account of the Germans (and Celts?) who, he says, practised warfare not only for a means of subsistence but also for exercising their warriors. How long-lived the custom has been amongst the Gaelic Celts, as an occupation or as a pastime, is evident not only from the plundering incursions or 'creaghs' as they are called in the Highlands and described by Scott in *Waverley* and *The Fair Maid of Perth,* but also from the 'cattle-drives' which have been resorted to in our own day in Ireland, though these latter had a different motive than plunder. As has been observed by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Lord Macaulay was mistaken in ascribing this custom to 'some native vice of Irish character,' for, as every student of ancient Ireland may perceive, it is rather to be regarded as 'a survival, an ancient and inveterate habit' of the race."

The greatest of the cattle raids is described in the *Tain bo Cualnge.* The events occurred just about the beginning of the Christian era. They were probably first written up in literary form touched with Gaelic imagination in the second and third centuries. It has been suggested that oral tradition was perhaps occupied for five hundred years working over and developing the story of the Tain. It was probably not until the close of the fifth century that the saga as we have it at the present time came into substantial existence. The first half of the seventh century is the latest date that can be assigned for the completion of the poetic tale as it now exists. Its oldest

extant version, "The Book of the Dun," dates from about the year 1100.

Precise dates are hard to give but the composition of the poem antedates by a prolonged period the epic tales of the Anglo-Saxons, the Scandinavians, the Franks and the Germans. It is the oldest epic tale of western Europe and it and the cycle of tales to which it belongs form, as Ridgeway declares, "the oldest existent literature of any of the peoples to the north of the Alps."

As Professor Dunn says:

"Its historical background, social organization, chivalry, mood and thought, and its heroic ideal are to a large extent, and with perhaps some pre-Aryan survivals, not only those of the insular Celts of 2,000 years ago but also of the important and widespread Celtic race with whom Caesar fought and who in an earlier period had sacked Rome and made themselves feared even in Greece and Asia Minor."

Of this greatest of the cattle raids it has been said by the same authority:

"The Tain Bo Cualnge is one of the most precious monuments of the world's literature, both because of the poetic worth it evidences at an early stage of civilization, and for the light it throws on the life of the people among whom it originated and that of their ancestors centuries earlier. It is not less valuable and curious because it shows us the earlier stages of an epic,—an epic in the making—which it does better than any other work in literature. Ireland had at hand all the materials for a great na-

tional epic, a wealth of saga-material replete with interesting episodes, picturesque and dramatic incidents and strongly defined personages, yet she never found her Homer, a gifted poet to embrace her entire literary wealth, to piece the disjointed fragments together, smooth the asperities and hand down to posterity the finished epic of the Celtic world, superior, perhaps, to the Iliad or the Odyssey. What has come down to us is a 'sort of patchwork epic,' as Prescott called the Ballads of the Cid, a popular epopee in all its native roughness, wild phantasy and extravagance of deed and description as it developed during successive generations. It resembles the frame of some huge ship left unfinished by the builders on the beach and covered with shells and drift from the sea of Celtic tradition. From the historical standpoint, however, and as a picture of the old barbaric Celtic culture, and as a pure expression of elemental passion, it is of more importance to have the genuine tradition as it developed amongst the people, unvarnished by poetic art and uninfluenced by the example of older and alien societies."

The traits exhibited in these sagas are so exactly those of the Irish people of the modern time, particularly in the interior of the country to which the various invaders all down the centuries penetrated to a comparatively slight degree, as to make them an extremely interesting study in ethnology and the persistence of racial characteristics. Bishop Shahan who in his little volume "St. Patrick in History" has condensed an immense amount of information with regard to Irish history and literature, has summed

up very well some of the outstanding features of ancient Irish literature. He said for instance:

"In none of the world's great literatures is there a higher expression of the passion of battle than the youthful Cuchulain, a more romantic seeker of high exploits than Finn. Personality and action are almost deified in these archaic tales. They exhibit a unique original humanity, straining in every faculty for glory, fame, honor, distinction in whatever was then held highest and most desirable."

How true are some of his expressions of the Irish of the modern time. "These pagan Irish are self-sacrificing; they die for one another; they carry life lightly in their hands, and gamble for it at the slightest provocation." It is easy to understand after this how marvelous a source of ethnological lore this ancient Irish literature has proved.

Bishop Shahan has above all emphasized the resemblance that exist between the Homeric poems and the old Irish epics. In this he is only calling to the attention of English readers what has been so well illustrated by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Cours de Literature Celtique*. This note of Homeric similarity has been reechoed by a great many students of literature who have become acquainted with the Irish sagas during the twentieth century. Bishop Shahan says of the Irish as exhibited in the old Irish epics:

"In all the world of ancient literature there is no

Lycidas note of affection like the 'Keening' of Cuchulain over the dead body of Ferdiadh, no such heroism of sisterly devotion as the heart-rending 'Sorrows of the Children of Lir.' Here is the true fountain of chivalry, far away in pre-historic days on the soil of Inisfail. Here the heart comes by every natural right with a fulness and a sense of innocence that bring us to the long-locked gates of Eden. Here the friendship of man for man, the love of man for woman, the attachment of brother and sister, the strong bond of companions at arms, stand out with Homeric freshness and simplicity."

Irish literature suffered very severely from the wholesale destruction of the manuscripts of the ancient Irish by the Danes during the ninth century. This was direct and calculated rapine. It suffered almost to an equal degree from neglect and contempt after the conquest by the English. Some idea of what was thus lost may be appreciated from the literary value of such a work as the Life of Columba written by Adamnán which was written at Iona in the closing years of the seventh century. Dr. Pinkerton, whose admirable edition of the *Vita Columbae* makes it a veritable treasure house for the student of Irish history as well as of literature went so far as to say of it:

"It is the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period but even through the whole Middle Ages."

Not only was there a great poetic literature made

in Ireland but there was above all a wonderful collection of folklore. Probably nothing reveals so clearly the intellectual interests and the imaginative sympathy and inventive creative power of a whole people as the folklore which it accumulates and carries down from generation to generation by tradition. The poetic quality of the people's thinking can be appreciated better from this than any other source. The Irish are probably richer in this vein of national treasure than any other people. In spite of the vicissitudes of time and the poverty stricken state of the people at many periods, inevitably consequent upon the successive invasions of foreigners and the hardships that followed, a great deal of Irish folklore has fortunately been preserved for us. W. G. Wood Martin, a member of the Royal Society of Irish Antiquaries, in his work "Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland" which bears the secondary title "A Folk Lore Sketch, a Handbook of Pre-Christian Tradition" (Longmans, 1902, 2 vols.), supplies the material from which an excellent idea of the immense body of Irish folklore which exists may be obtained.

This collection shows that the Irish were thinking deeply about everything around them, sea and air and sky and water and the subterranean world, peopling all the universe around them with existences of many kinds who became as real to them as the human beings with whom they were associated. There were fairies of many kinds, "little people" and "good folk" they called them, for they did not

want to use the word fairies lest it should offend these little dwellers in their land. The Greeks called the Furies by the euphemistic title of the *Eumenides,* that is the "well meaning ones," somewhat in the same way as the Irish did with the fairies. Besides the little people there were familiar spirits of various kinds, good and ill, like the *daimones* of the Greeks and the powers of the underworld and the jealous gods of the pagan time, and so on almost without end. Much of this represented a personification of the powers of nature as they observed them in action but then all personification is primitive poetry. The mythology of the ancient Irish accords well with the primitive meaning of the word, for *muthos* in Greek means a story that carries a lesson and all these primitive folk tales of the Irish contain warnings and lessons of many kinds.

The Irish are particularly rich in the store of proverbs that they possess with a wealth of wisdom packed into very few words and expressions that have been favorite aphorisms for many centuries. The only other nation in Europe that compares with them in the number of popular proverbs that are extant is the Spanish and it is curious to realize that these two peoples represent the extreme west of Europe. It was as if the storms of ocean beating on their shores compelled men to condense the wisdom of their experience into brief expressions usually couched in very short words. It has been said, and the expression is originally an Irish proverb that "a proverb is the wit of one and the wis-

dom of many." Surely the Irish proverbs illustrate the universality of the significance of such expressions better than any other. One of the favorite Irish proverbs that demonstrates so well that brevity is the soul of wit runs in the formula "love hides ugliness." How much briefer this is than even that very condensed Spanish formula so well illustrated by Don Quixote's enamorment of his Dulcinea "Beauty is in the eye of the beholder." The Irish were convinced that a good wife was better than a pretty one though their epics turn on the charms of fair women. Hence their proverb "Choose a good woman's daughter though her father be the devil."

It is in consonance with the well known attitude of the Irish toward knowledge that a favorite proverb of theirs runs, "Ignorance is a heavy burden." It would remind one of St. Teresa's expression to her mother superiors in Spain with regard to the choice of subjects for their convent. "Remember if they are ignorant and pious, the piety often evaporates but the ignorance always remains." It is typical of the hospitality and generous nature of the Irish which so many visitors have praised, to find that one of their favorite proverbs is, "A thing is the bigger for being shared." On the other hand it is typical of their sterling honesty to find that a very old proverb among them is, "A promise is a debt." It is the equivalent of "a man's word is his bond" only that from the very expression of the promise the Irish considered that they were just that much in debt. After these examples it will be easy to understand

that other Irish proverb with regard to the significance of proverbs. "It is impossible to contradict a proverb."

As with regard to Irish melodies, so it is with regard to Irish proverbs. They have been adopted and adapted by many people. The wandering Irish have carried them with them over all the countries of Europe in the older time and throughout the English speaking world in our own day. Any number of proverbs accredited to other nations have been traced to Irish origins since the ancient Irish literature has gradually been brought to light during the past few generations. On the other hand a great many of the Irish bulls so called, that is the "ludicrous blunders involving a contradiction in terms which are usually set down as especially characteristic of the Irish" have been traced to sources ever so much more ancient. Wendell Phillips in the introduction to his well known address on "The Lost Arts" calls attention to a series of Irish bulls so called that come from ancient Greece and Egypt. For instance there is the tale of the Irishman who on hearing that the crow lived to be two hundred years old, went and bought one to see whether it did or not. That has, I believe, been traced back to very early days in Greece. The Irishman who said "Whenever I look in a looking glass I shut my eyes to see how I'll look when I'm dead," had a predecessor who said something very like this in Egypt some two thousand years before Christ. The Irishman who is said to have carried a brick around with

him as a sample when he had a house to sell, had a forerunner in Babylonia. The fact is that the Irishman is not only witty himself but is the cause of wit in others, and then besides humor is so natural to him that all sorts of humorous quips have been foisted on him.

CHAPTER V

Irish Influence on World Literature

IT would be idle to claim for the people of Ireland that position and influence in civilization which has been outlined in the preliminary chapters of this book unless it can be shown that the Irish were an extremely important factor in shaping the literature of the world during the centuries in which they are said to have done so much to lift western Europe out of the barbarism that was engulfing it. Very fortunately though only by a chance that can scarcely be deemed less than providential, Irish contributions to literature from the fifth to the eleventh century have been preserved for us not often in Ireland but in the libraries of the Continent. Some of these had come to be known very well not only in England but also in certain of the continental countries. The far-reaching influence of these can be traced very clearly in the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when there was a great reawakening of the spirit of the humanities throughout the Latin countries and Germany.

The Irish Christian writers made important contributions particularly to what may be called the literature of vision. The epic expression of the imagined experiences of voyages to the other world were favorite subjects for Irish poets. The Irish

nature brought up amid the mists and fogs of the melancholy Atlantic with the long dark winter nights for brooding, became deeply mystical and strove to express its feelings by turning from the sordid everyday life around it to the creative vision of the other life in which its faith was so deep. What is usually considered to be the greatest masterpiece of literature in the world, Dante's Divina Comedia, belongs to this mode of literature and indeed is the culmination of it. There was much of this striving after the vision of the hereafter in Europe during the later part of the Middle Ages and undoubtedly the Irish were responsible for the incentives to it. The Irish monks found a peculiar satisfaction in this form of literature and their profound faith enabled them to visualize the future life with a vividness that produced striking literary results.

Almost needless to say this mode of literature did not originate with them. It belongs to a class of world myths than which few are more widely distributed in place or time and none have been more fortunate in the place won for them in the masters of literature. A visit to the other world afforded subjects to the genius of Homer, Plato and Virgil, as well as Cicero and other less important writers. It was then adopted into the literature of the early Christian Church and as Boswell says in his volume "An Irish Precursor of Dante" (London, 1908), "afterwards constituted one of the favorite subjects in the popular literature of the Middle Ages until

finally, Dante exhausted the great potentialities of the theme and precluded all further development."

Boswell has traced what may be called the Odyssey of this subject of a visit to the other world in a way that brings out very clearly the place that the Irish occupy in its evolution. He said:

'It may be seen how the legend which received its apotheosis in Dante's immortal verse came into being upon the misty heights of primitive myth, and after forming the theme of poets and philosophers in classical antiquity, entered into the literature and teaching of the early Christian Church; how the ecclesiastical legend, as it had now become, was adopted into the Irish Church at the time of its greatest activity, and there received the impress of the national genius, and became blended with the national traditions; thence it returned again to become a part of the general literature of Europe, and received yet further elements from the newly popular romances of chivalry, and still more from the revived classical tradition, until the elixir of the great magician's genius finally transmuted the amalgam into gold to be a possession forever."

How soon this mode of literature began to make itself felt among the Irish and through them on other nations will be best appreciated in the fact that Venerable Bede writing in England in the eighth century has preserved for us the story of Fursey, an Irish hermit, who died in France about the middle of the seventh century after a vision of the other world that manifestly attracted attention in France

and England as well as Ireland. This was apparently the earliest of these vision poems to exert an influence beyond the shores of Ireland itself. The Vision of Adamnán which Boswell has taken as the subject for his volume "An Irish Precursor of Dante" is usually considered to date back to the sixth century but does not appear to have been known outside of Ireland itself. It is well recognized from very definite traditions however, that there were other similar poems which were widely distributed on the continent during the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages though they have been lost in the vicissitudes of time.

Very probably the example of this mode of poetry as it emanated from Ireland that was known the widest was the "Vision of Tundale" (Tnudgal) which was written in Latin by an Irishman named Marcus at Regensburg in the south of Germany toward the end of the eleventh century. There seems to be very little doubt left now that this poetic vision of the alleged experiences in the other world of an Irish soldier said to have been struck down by an invisible hand and remaining apparently dead for some three days was known to Dante. When the soldier revived he told with poignant literalness all that he had seen during the time that he had been in the trance so far as his body was concerned but when his spirit was really wandering in the other world. This work has a number of distinctive features that were later incorporated into the "Divine Comedy." It was widely known through-

out Europe and represents a culmination of Irish visions of the other world just as Dante's "Divine Comedy" constitutes the climax of such visionary literature for all time.

Bishop Shahan said:

"We know now that it is not too much to maintain that one of the chief roots and sources of the exalted mysticism of medieval Europe is precisely this transfigured and Christianized Kelticism, which for long centuries overflowed the continent, nourished the spirit of adventure and chivalry, outbid and outrivalled the weaker and more mediocre classical spirit, and got itself further immortalized in the great sculpturous poem of Dante."

In our day with the revival of interest in Dante, especially in anticipation of the celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of his death, a series of studies of the Celtic precursors of Dante have been made that have thrown great light on Dantean sources. They make it very clear how much Dante was indebted to the Irish poets of vision. This does not lessen Dante's own merit but it makes very clear the fact that he had predecessors whose faith made visual for them the life of man on the curtain of eternity which was to be the subject of Dante's supreme poetry. This debt of Dante to the Irish did not remain to be discovered in our day. Serious students of Dante had recognized it generations ago. Longfellow in the appendices of his translation of "The Divine Comedy" made a number of citations

of the background on which Dante's great poem should be studied and he presented the evidence for Dante's debt to the Irish poets of vision by his quotation from "St. Patrick's Purgatory."

There is a very old tradition that Dante had begun to write his great poem in Latin. This would not be surprising, for in the generation after Dante, Petrarch wrote in Latin his epic "Africa" on which he felt that his future fame would rest securely. Almost needless to say no one except the professional scholar of Petrarch ever reads it at the present time and even he but rarely the whole of it, while the Italian poet's vernacular sonnets are familiar everywhere and are looked upon as a great epoch-making contribution to literature. The first line of Dante's great poem as he wrote it in Latin is even quoted—

Pallida regna canam, fluido contermina mundo.

Even at this distance it would be easy to have the feeling that such a classical expression of Dante's thought would never have proven the great literature that the "Divine Comedy" actually is. It is said that it was an Irish monk who dissuaded Dante from his purpose of writing in Latin and induced him to write in the Italian vernacular.

Long ago in the Scripture it was said, "Where there is no vision the people perish." When the old men shall not dream dreams and the young men shall not see visions, this is a sad world indeed, for the spirit is not poured out upon the flesh and all is vain. In our day of literal mindedness when we are so in-

clined to fail in the realization that the "dreamer lives forever and the toiler dies in a day," this trait of the Irish visionaries and the visions that they saw may seem to be of very little significance for the realities of life. But the poet and his vision live on in spite of the contempt of the practical minded and the great heart of humanity which beats so right in its large rhythm from age to age, though it may seem to miss so many beats in the pulse of any given time, takes to itself the poet dreamers and keeps alive the memory of them and their work long after the practical man and the results of his toil of which he was so proud is dead. So it was with the Irish. They had their visions of another world than this and the world of their day would not willingly forget them. The thoughts they set vibrating continued to be felt throughout those early Middle Ages until they touched the spirit of a great world poet who gave them a form that will endure as long as this stage of civilization lasts. The Irish visionaries and their dreams seemed to be no more, but their thoughts lived after them and prove to have the germ of immortality in them when they passed through the alembic of the mind of a great world poet.

After the Irish literature of vision of the other world the greatest influence in Irish literature was exerted through its epic poems or sagas. The number of these old Irish tales or sagas is very large. Professor Kuno Meyer declared that altogether there are in the neighborhood of six hundred ancient Irish tales. Only about 150 of these have been

translated into English and some of these only partially. Acquaintance with them on the part of foreigners as well as the Irish themselves has nearly always proved a stimulus to the creative impulse in modern poets. They found material at hand so close to the heart of human nature that they were tempted to give it modern expression. A typical instance of this is to be seen in the fact that when Tennyson read the "Adventures of Maeldune" in the collection of "Old Celtic Romances" which had been gathered by Dr. P. W. Joyce, he made it the subject of a poem "The Voyage of Maeldune" which is one of the poems of his later life that some of his readers and critics have been inclined to think is more likely to attract attention from future generations than a good deal of his other work.

The most important influence exerted by the Irish on literature other than their own is that with regard to the Welsh literature. As that well known scholar of early Irish literature, Mr. E. C. Quiggan said in his article on "Irish Influence on English Literature" in the volume "The Glories of Ireland," (Washington, 1911):

"Some writers in the past have argued in favor of an independent survival of common Celtic features in Wales and Ireland, but now the tendency is to regard all such coincidences as borrowings on the part of Cymric craftsmen (from the Gaels across the Irish Sea). At the beginning of the twelfth century a new impulse seems to have been imparted to native minstrelsy in Wales under the patronage

of Gruffydd ap Cynan, a prince of Gwynedd, who had spent many years in exile at the court of Dublin. Some of the Welsh rhapsodists apparently served a kind of apprenticeship with their Irish brethren, and many things Irish were assimilated at this time which, through this channel, were shortly to find their way into Anglo-French. Thus it may now be regarded as certain that the name of the 'fair sword' Excalibur, by Geoffrey (of Monmouth) called Caliburnus (Welsh *caletfwlch*), is taken from Caladbolg, the far-famed broadsword of Fergus Mac-Roig. It does not appear that the whole framework of the Irish saga was taken over, but, as Windisch points out, episodes were borrowed as well as tricks of imagery. So, to mention but one, the central incident of *Syr Gawayan and the Grene Knyght* is doubtless taken from the similar adventure of Cuchulain in *Bricriu's Feast*. The share assigned to Irish influence in the *matière de Bretagne* is likely to grow considerably with the progress of research."

For those who might be surprised at the fact that the rude fighting Irish people whom one might be inclined to think of as little better than barbarians should have made a great literature and have in themselves the spirits of poets and seers, if there really is any difference between the two words, it would be well to consider seriously what we have learned in recent years about the Irish in distant districts untouched by what is called the course of modern civilization, but who proved to have under the eyes of such men as Synge in his visits to the Aran Islands, or such women as Miss Amy Murray

in her sojourn on "Father Allan's Island," qualities that made them blood brothers and sisters of the poetic souls of the world.

In his Foreword to Amy Murray's "Father Allan's Island" Padraic Colum said in the spirit of profoundly poetic appreciation of the content of the book:

"There are dreams and visions here—sea maidens and water horses, wraiths and troubling spirits; there are memories of high romance—'The sweet high sounding things that only poets and lovers say in the Great World are in the mouths of herd boys on the Edge of it.' There is music here and poetry —elemental music and such poetry as Synge heard on his islands—'The Rude and Beautiful Poetry that has in it the oldest passions in the world.' "

It is interesting to compare these descriptions of the Irish islands with others that have recently found their way into English literature as the result of the visiting of distant Pacific islands in the South Seas by literary minded folk who have found an Eden of quite another kind out there. The difference between the two is the difference between body and soul. Our visitors to the South Seas are interested in the *dolce far niente* the languid repose, the sensuous air, the corporeal languor of the tropics. It is a question of bodily interest and not the aspiration of the spirit. It has been suggested as we have said that as good a definition of civilization as we possess is that it is the process by which men come

to grow interested in their minds and hearts and souls rather than in their bodies. Savages are interested necessarily in their bodies and almost exclusively in them. As they rise in the scale of civilization, mental interests come to them. Their emotions are higher than merely bodily needs dictate. As they go up in the scale still more the body becomes less important and the mind usurps the kingship of interest. Anyone who continues to be more interested in his body than in his mind is a savage at heart. At least he can lay no serious claim to being civilized. This is what constitutes the contrast between the South Sea Islanders and the Irish whether in Ireland or in the Hebrides though they may have almost none of the trappings of civilization about them in their distant homes.

As Padraic Colum said in the Foreword to Miss Murray's book:

"Lately we have been reading a great deal about Islands otherwhere—Islands in Tropic Seas, where there are fruits and fragrance and flower-girdled girls. Miss Murray brings us to an Island at the other side of all this,—

> 'Where many's the sowing of storms
> Where few are the sowings of seeds.'

And amongst a people who have it in them to awaken in us all that is heroic and austere. It is this shore, 'trod by no tropic feet,' that still holds the visions and the music and the memories of lovers and saints and rovers of an honor keeping race,—

'Brave hearts, ye never did aspire
Wholly to things of earth.' "

Miss Murray's account of Father Allan's Island in the far north of Scotland where they talk Highland Gaelic and are the same sort of Scots as were the Irish in the days when John Scotus Erigena, "the Scot born in Ireland," was the form of designating an Irishman, or when Michael Scot represented another of them, is paralleled by the experiences of John Synge twenty years before. It may be recalled that as Mr. Yeats has told us in his interesting introduction to Synge's "The Well of the Saints," John Synge was eking out a scanty subsistence in Paris, endeavoring to support himself by literature with no very definite idea as to his aims but full of suppressed vitality awaiting an adequate outlet for expression. Mr. Yeats persuaded him to go to the Aran Islands, where he himself had just been, to drink in a draught of the rude but healthy atmosphere of their people. Yeats felt that he himself had been awakened to new emotions, which carried with them a deep and lovely spiritual import, as the result of his visit, though it had been only a single day's stay on Aranmor. He wanted Synge to try the effect of a visit to the islands, confident that it would give a new turn to the genius that Yeats recognized in him, or at least an incentive to his talent to do something more than the conventional critical work as regards French literature for which Synge was preparing himself.

Synge took Yeats' advice so well meant and so prophetically penetrating in its insight. He went over to the Aran Islands and stayed there for several years. To that visit we owe the Synge and his works whom we all came to know and love afterwards and whom the world learned to admire so much. I have before me as I write his own little book on "The Aran Islands" with drawings by Jack Yeats.*

In that it is easy to see how much Synge felt that he owed to the islanders for putting him in touch with the realities of life. He was quite ready to acknowledge that these poor ignorant folk only a few of whom could read or write and most of whom knew even their own Irish language none too well, had hearts and minds and souls attuned to poetry and the spiritual side of man and the significance of life in terms of other-worldliness that had never come to him and that broadened his vision and deepened his insight into life. They saw things on the curtain of eternity as Dante did.

One of them said, as Synge reports, "why there is scarcely a man or woman on the island that can count from 1 to 999 without using an English word except myself." Yet it was from these poor peasants that came the awakening of the genius of John Synge and the stimulus to the expression of higher and deeper things than he could have secured

* The copy is precious for it has in it the autographic kind regards to me of that great lawyer and critical collector of books and manuscripts, paintings and art objects, the close friend of Synge and Yeats, John Quinn.

by staying in that heart of civilization as it is ordinarily presumed to be—Paris. Yeats knew the possibility of it from his own brief experience and Synge came to know it before long and the world of letters is the richer for his stay with the ignorant but poetic Irish of the benighted Islanders as they are presumed to be.

The genius of Synge was wakened up to do serious work in dramatic literature and Yeats and Lady Gregory in touch with the Irish folk of the back districts were joined by a group of young men who gathered round the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. Before long there was a reawakening of the dramatic instinct that made itself felt not only in Ireland but in all the English speaking countries. What was needed above all was a return to nature and the getting away from the artificialities which had made the drama an instrument for the expression of superficial feelings but without any touch with the deeper emotion of the human heart. The Irish Theatre movement proved eminently diffusive and we were affected deeply by it over here in America. For who shall say that the work of such men as George Kelly and even Eugene O'Neill does not partake of its strongest dramatic elements because of their touch with the back-to-nature movement that was initiated in Ireland? That one international dramatist who has a vogue in our day, George Bernard Shaw, is after all of Irish extraction. When he began his work they used to say of him that he was an Irish humorist and an American dramatist. His work

was too profound however for any ready-made critical formula to hurt it and it has endured in spite of the opposition that it evoked."

It might possibly be thought that this spirit of the Irish which lifts even the rude fisherman of the edge of the world up in the Orkney Islands, or out on the fringe of Europe in the Aran Islands, to a plane of genuine poetry might only be a survival among them because modern civilization had not come near them and they had had no opportunity for other interests except those of their own imaginations. About a dozen years ago however there appeared a book by Harold Begbie called "The Lady Next Door," termed in the American edition "The Happy Irish." Mr. Begbie was sent over to Ireland just before the war by the *London Chronicle* in connection with the agitation for Home Rule for the Irish. He was to see for himself and to tell the story of the Irish situation. Above all he was expected to note the differences between the peoples of the north and south of Ireland, so far as personal qualities were concerned.

He found the Irish of the south of Ireland so different from the English people of the slums of the English cities or even of the country places of England, people of the same economic status, as to be almost incomparable. The Irish were living a higher life that enabled them to get at something of the real meaning of existence while the others were living a sordid day-to-day life that lifts them scarcely above mere animal existence.

Mr. Begbie's testimony to the marvelous effect that the Church has upon the character of the Irish people is of itself the best exemplification of what happened to the Irish when St. Patrick brought Christianity to them. He himself is a Presbyterian and he confesses that his surprising experience has not changed his religious views in any way but he has learned to admire and almost reverence the beauty of the Irish character as influenced by Catholicity. He did not hesitate to say:

"In the south, where Catholic influence is supreme, the people are almost enchanting in their sweetness of disposition, entirely admirable in the beauty and contentment of their domestic life, wonderful beyond all other nations in the wholesomeness and sanctity of their chastity. In this place I make no comparison of the south with the north—that I reserve for a later chapter; my present purpose is to speak solely of the south. Instead of a lazy, thriftless, discontented, and squalid people—as I had imagined them to be—the Irish of the south won my sympathy and compelled my admiration by qualities the very opposite. It seemed to me that these hard-working, simple-living, family-loving, and most warm-hearted people had done what we in England have largely failed to do, even in our villages, to wit, solved the problem of life." The charm which every traveller feels in the south of Ireland is the character of the Irish people; and my investigation forced me to the judgment that this character is the culture of Irish Catholicism. My problem lay, therefore in squaring the admiration I

felt for these gracious people with my detestation of the Church which has guarded Irish character from the dawn of its history."

Mr. Begbie emphasizes his own intense feeling of opposition to the Catholic Church and his deep seated aversion to the Catholic creed remains just as firm as ever, as he very frankly declares, but the friendly Irish of the south of Ireland made him appreciate as never before the marvelous influence an abiding spiritual faith can have upon the character of a people. He is very much inclined to think these good people in their simplicity have discovered the secret of happiness in life or at least of a satisfaction that transcends all the ordinary experiences of life as it is lived in the crowded centres of population in other countries. His experience is given in detail and the feelings aroused by his contact with the Irish, make it comparatively easy to understand something of the profound influence that the Irish have upon those who are brought in intimate contact with them to learn how they live the life of the spirit and not merely of the body.

After the experiences of Synge among those of the Irish who would ordinarily be considered the most ignorant, many of the Aran islanders being quite unable to read or write and most of them understanding only their own Gaelic tongue, while Mr. Begbie was brought in touch with the country people of the south with regard to whom it would be very easy for citified folk to be contemptuous, it becomes ever so much easier to understand the in-

fluence that the Irish exerted in primitive Christian times over the foreign students that came to them and the foreigners to whom they went on the continent. If in our sophisticated day Synge's and Begbie's experiences are possible, no wonder that Ireland in an older time when the Irish were filled with enthusiasm for the spread of the faith that their great apostle had brought to them, accomplished so much for the rest of the world.

Still in our day deep down in the hearts of the Irish manifestly there are those mental and spiritual characteristics that gave them such a deep influence in the long ago. It is not something of the past and therefore difficult to understand now, but it is still existent and manifests itself to the scholars and literary folk of our time when they have the opportunity to come under its magic spell. Surely no less expressive term could be used for that marvelous influence that the poor ignorant Irish exert over those who might possibly be expected to be least susceptible to their witchery.

CHAPTER VI

Irish Music

THE important contribution of the Irish to the music of the world consists of the collection of melodies known as Irish airs. In this volume "Old Irish Folk Music and Songs" which was edited with annotations for the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland by Dr. P. W. Joyce, President of the Society, the editor collected 842 Irish airs and songs hitherto unpublished though the date of his volume is 1909. In the Preface he discusses the various collections of Irish airs that have been published and after eliminating all those that are repetitions or that represent only very slight variants from others, he concludes that there are over 5,000 different Irish airs that have been already published. Not a few of these are found among the popular music of other countries but in nearly all cases the origin of them can be traced back to Ireland. Indeed some of the most frequently heard melodies in a number of other countries were adopted from or only slightly adapted from Irish airs. Perhaps the best exemplification of that for Americans is that both Yankee Doodle and Dixie are old Irish airs heard in Ireland long before they became popular over here.

Dr. Joyce reminds us:

"That Ireland was, for generations, down to times within our own memory, the hunting-ground of Scotch, English and even Continental collectors, who have appropriated scores upon scores of our airs—and these generally among the best—and made them their own. And besides this, the great Irish harpers of the seventeenth and previous centuries were in the habit of making long visitations among the kings and chiefs of Scotland, playing their best compositions, which were eagerly picked up; and there the melodies remain to this day, and are found in every collection of Scotch airs."

From very early times the Irish were celebrated for their skill in music and Irish professors and teachers of music were almost as much in request in foreign countries as the teachers of literature and academic subjects generally. It is not surprising that when the Irish were teaching so many other subjects on the continent the knowledge of their love for and skill in music should cause them to be invited to teach this subject. We note for instance that in the middle of the seventh century Gertrude, abbess of Nivelle in Belgium, daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace, whose descendants afterwards occupied the throne of France, engaged Sts. Foillon and Ultan, brothers of the Irish St. Furser, to instruct her nuns in psalmody. Joyce in his "A Concise History of Ireland" (Longmans, 1913), has noted this and has called attention also to the fact that in the latter half of the ninth century the cloister schools of St. Gall in Switzerland were famous

throughout a large territory for their teaching of music particularly and the music school was under the direction of an Irishman Maengal, or Marcellus according to the Latin form of his name that is usually used, and his reputation has endured ever since.

Dr. Joyce who is very conservative in his attitude in the matter and who is of course very well known for a whole series of books on various phases of Irish history and life more than a dozen of which altogether have been accepted as authoritative by the critics, does not hesitate to say that "it may be fairly claimed that Ireland has produced and preserved a larger volume of high class Folk Music than any other nation in the world." He has himeslf been a very important factor in making it clear to our generation what a profusion of Irish melodies there are in existence in spite of the vicissitudes of the Irish race. There are almost needless to say other devotees of ancient Irish music who have made important contributions to this subject. Dr. Petri's "Ancient Music of Ireland," Hoffman's edition of a subsequent part of the Petri collection, P. W. Joyce's own volume on "Ancient Irish Music," Dr. Grattan Flood's "History of Irish Music," "The Music of Ireland" by Captain Francis O'Neill of Chicago which was followed by "The Dance Music of Ireland" by the same author, represent only a few of the studies that have been made in this subject.

The first distinguished Irish writer on music was the philosopher and scholar of the latter half of the

ninth century, John Scotus Erigena, John the Scot Erinborn, who wrote a treatise under the title *"De divisione naturae"* which contains an exposition of *organum* or discant. This is one of the great pioneer works on music in modern history and appeared nearly a hundred years before the *Scholia Enchiriadis* and the *Musica Enchiriadis.* Scotus Erigena wrote besides a commentary on Martianus Capella, a well known musical text book of the early days (Sixth century) which is still in manuscript in the *Bibliothéque Nationale* in Paris. Donnchadh, an Irish bishop of the ninth century, also wrote a commentary on Martianus Capella showing that the Irish were deeply interested in the theory of music as well as in the practice of it through the invention of melody.

It was no wonder then that Gerald Barry, or to use his Latin name and its English equivalent, Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald the Welshman, who visited Ireland toward the end of the twelfth century, wrote expressions of highest praise with regard to the Irish harpers and minstrels. Gerald, as we mention in the chapter on Irish manuscripts, had visited all the various parts of Europe and had had the chance to see and hear all the beautiful things of the nations, so that his opinion is very well worth while. His praise has all the more meaning because he was not at all inclined to praise Irish good qualities, but quite the contrary he had strong Welsh prejudices—coming from the nearly related race—against practically everything Irish. Gerald

is not singular in his eulogy of Irish musicians, for both Brompton and John of Salisbury are equally enthusiastic.

The intense admiration of Giraldus Cambrensis for Irish music is only surpassed by his praise for the wonderful book of the Gospels that he saw at Kildare, and is of itself a testimony to Irish musical development that must carry great weight. There is always a grudging air about his praise for anything Irish except with regard to the manuscript and music. For these he declared that he had feelings that he could not control but must give them adequate expression. He said:

"The skill of the Irish in music is incomparably superior to that of any other nation. For them modulations are not slow and morose as in the instruments of Britain to which we are habituated, but the sounds are rapid and precipitate yet sweet and pleasant . . . Such agreeable swiftness, such unequal parity, such discordant concord . . . So delicately pleasant, so softly soothing, that it is manifest the perfection of their art lies in concealing art."

Giraldus was particularly taken by the technique of the Irish musicians and their marvelous skill in the production of musical tones on their instruments. Though comparisons are odious and Giraldus' comparisons are usually quite unfavorable to the Irish, this is so far from being the case with regard to music that the Welshman can scarcely find words

to express his admiration for the Irish players. He said:

"They are incomparably more skillful than any other nation I have ever seen in musical production (technique). It is astonishing that in so complex and rapid a movement of the fingers, the musical proportions can be preserved and that the harmony is completed with such a sweet rapidity."

It is not surprising to learn after praise like this that for centuries after the time of Giraldus music continued to be cultivated very intensively and uninterruptedly by the Irish. As a result there was an unbroken succession of great professional harpers who maintained their preeminence in their special profession until a comparatively recent date. Joyce does not hesitate to say that "Down to the middle of the last century Ireland continued to be the school for the Scotch and Welsh harpers who were never considered finished players until they had spent some time under the instruction of the skilled Irish harpers." In this, Ireland was in those days so far as skill on the harp is concerned the one place that every ambitious musician hoped to be able to visit for some time. No wonder that Irish melodies secured a great vogue and became popularized in many countries. It is surprising how many modern songs have been written to them and how often they prove at least the nucleus or productive basis for modern airs of all kinds.

The number and variety of the musical instru-

ments in use among the ancient Irish is very surprising to anyone who has not had the chance to look into the subject. They provide the best possible demonstration of the Irish love for music and they emphasize at the same time how much of popular interest there must have been in it. The inventive genius of the nation seems to have devoted itself to a considerable extent to the improvement of their musical instruments almost in the same way as our generation has devoted itself to the invention of various apparatus for the mechanical reproduction of musical sounds. The contrast between the two periods in this matter is extremely interesting. Almost needless to say without the spirit of music deep in their hearts, the practical genius of the people would never have availed to create all these different modes and means of evoking musical sounds. The list of inventions in the musical line is indeed very interesting.

Grattan Flood in his article on Irish Music in "The Glories of Ireland" (Washington, 1914) records that a thousand years ago:

"During the ninth century we meet with twelve different forms of musical instruments in use by the Irish, namely: the *Cruit* and *Clairseach* (small and large harp); *Timpan* (*Rotta* or bowed *cruit*); *Buinne* (oboe or bassoon); *Bennbuabhal* and *Corn* (horn); *Cuisleanna* and *Piob* (bagpipes); *Feadan* (flute or fife); *Guthbuinne* (bass horn); *Stoc* and *Sturgan* (trumpet); *Pipai* (single and double pipes); *Craoibh cuil* and *Crann cuil* (cymbalum);

Cnamha (castanet); and *Fidil* (fiddle). The so-called 'Brian Boru's Harp' really dates from the thirteenth century, and is now in Trinity College, Dublin, but there are numerous sculptured harps of the ninth and tenth centuries on the crosses at Craig, Ullard, Clonmacnois, Durrow and Monasterboice."

These representations give an excellent and absolutely authentic idea of the form of the harp at various times, while the frequency of their occurrence demonstrates how popular the instrument was. It has remained ever since the typically national instrument of the Irish, greeted as such not only by themselves but by all nations; and who shall say that it is not in itself the most charming of musical instruments when played alone.

There seems to be no doubt now that Italy received the harp from Ireland. The instrument had been invented by the Irish and various forms of it created until it came to be an instrument of very varied musical expression. As is well known the Irish harp suggested the pianoforte and the form of the grand piano still shows the intimate relationship that existed originally between the two instruments. Other forms of the piano bear the same testimony only it is concealed by the case, for the stringing is done in harp shape. It is not surprising then that we should hear much of the Irish harpers and that they should have been in high positions at the courts of kings. This continued to be the case until well down in modern history and even Queen Elizabeth, strange as it may seem, retained

in her service an Irish harper, Cormac McDermott. He held the position for more than a dozen years until the death of the queen in 1603 and was then provided with an annual pension of nearly fifty pounds. As money in Elizabeth's time was worth in buying power,—this would be Shakespeare's day, —nearly ten times as much as it is at the present time, this would amount to a rather comfortable income especially considering the provisions of board and quarters at court and the modest wants of the period. Walter Quinn of Dublin was music master to the eldest son of King James I, Prince Henry, from 1608 to 1611, so that English and Scotch appreciation of Irish harpers continued well on into the seventeenth century.

Other courts imitated the English in the employment of Irish harpers. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Charles O'Reilly, was harpist at the court of Denmark at 200 thalers a year. He was succeeded by Donald Dubh (the dark) O'Cahal, who accompanied Anne of Denmark to the English court on her marriage to James I. A whole series of famous Irish harpers have been mentioned in the seventeenth century. Darby Scott for instance was harper to the Danish court from 1621 till his death at Copenhagen in 1634. John Evelyn, the well known English writer of the diary which bears his name, praises the excellent performance on the harp of Sir Edward Sutton in 1668. Sutton attracted the attention also of King Charles II who granted him the lands of Confey in County Kildare, Ireland.

Grattan Flood had called attention to the fact that Shakespeare in his plays refers to eleven Irish tunes of which the famous "Callino Casturane" the English equivalent sounds for the Irish "Cailan og a stuir me," has been the frequent subject of discussion by the commentators. A well known Irish musician of this time, John Dowland of Dublin, has been recognized as Shakespeare's "intrinsic friend." He is said to have been one of the greatest lutenists in Europe during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. All possible doubt as to his nationality is set aside by the dedication of one of his songs "To my loving countryman, Mr. John Foster, the Younger, Merchant of Dublin in Ireland." As Grattan Flood says his compositions reveal all the charm and grace of Irish melody and would of themselves without further evidence demonstrate that he was Irish. Irish dances became very popular at the English court in the early part of the seventeenth century and were introduced very commonly into the Masks which were the favorite form of diversion at court in the later years of Elizabeth's reign and under James I. The book for these was often written by men so distinguished as Ben Jonson and no energy or ability was spared to make them the most interesting of diversions. It is very probable that no set of court entertainments have ever been of higher class or greater literary value than these. Our modern musical comedies can scarcely be compared with them.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth cen-

tury Irish airs continued to be favorites not only in England but also on the continent. At this time Turlough O'Carolan (1670-1738) who is often called "the last of the Irish bards" composed a very great number of Irish songs and set them to music. They bore such names as "Planxties," "Plearacas," "Lamentations." No less than twenty-six of O'Carolan's airs are included in Moore's Irish Melodies though this fact was not known until the researches of Grattan Flood made it clear.

A distinguished contribution to music in the modern time which deserves to be noted and which was made under the influence of Irish *motifs* and demonstrates their enduring qualities and which came from the heart of the great souled Irishman, unfortunately born out of the time and place that might have sympathetically helped him in the expression of his genius, is the last and probably the most remarkable of the sonatas of Mr. Edward MacDowell, the well known "Keltic" Sonata. Of this Mr. Lawrence Gilman in his biographic sketch of our greatest American composer said:

"With the publication in 1901 of the "Keltic" Sonata (his fourth, *opus* 50) MacDowell achieved a conclusive and emphatic demonstration of his capacity as a creative musician of unquestionable importance. . . . This is unquestionably his masterpiece."

Mr. Gilman has dwelt on the Irish motifs that inspired the sonata. He said:

"It was a fortunate, if not an inevitable event, in view of his temperamental affiliations with the Celtic genius, that MacDowell should have been made aware of the suitability for musical treatment of the ancient heroic chronicles of the Gaels, and that he should have gone for his inspiration, in particular, to the legends comprised in the famous Cycle of the Red Branch,—that wonderful group of epics which comprises, among other tales, the story of the matchless Deirdre:—whose loveliness was such, so say the chroniclers, that 'not upon the ridge of earth was there a woman so beautiful,'—and the life and adventures and magnificent death of the incomparable Cuchullin. These two kindred legends MacDowell has welded into a coherent whole. . . . It is the heroic Gaelic world that MacDowell has made to live again in his music: that miraculous world of stupendous passions and aspirations, of bards, and heroes and sublime adventure—the world of Cuchullin the Unconquerable, and Laeg, and Queen Maeve; of Naesi, and Deirdre the Beautful, and Fergus, and Connla the Harper, and those kindred figures, lovely or greatly tragical, that are like no other figures in the world's mythologies. . . . In the close of the last movement we are justified in tracing an emotional portrayal of the sublime tradition of Cuchullin's death, the manner of which is thus described by Standish O'Grady: 'Cuculain sprang forth, but as he sprang, Lewy MacConroi pierced him through the bowels. Then fell the great hero of the Gael. Thereat the sun darkened, and the earth trembled . . . when, with a crash, fell that pillar of heroism, and that flame of the warlike valour of Erin was extinguished . . .

Then Cuculain, raising his eyes, saw thence northwards from the lake a tall pillar-stone, the grave of a warrior slain there in some ancient war. With difficulty he reached it, and he leaned awhile against the pillar, for his mind wandered, and he knew nothing for a space. After that he took off his brooch, and removing the torn bratta (girdle), he passed it round the top of the pillar, where there was an indentation in the stone, and passed the ends under his arms and around his breast, tying with languid hands a loose knot, which soon was made fast by the weight of the dying hero; thus they beheld him standing with the drawn sword in his hand, and the rays of the setting sun bright on his panic-striking helmet. So stood Cuculain, even in deathpangs, a terror to his enemies, for a deep spring of stern valour was opened in his soul, and the might of his unfathomable spirit sustained him. Thus perished Cuculain. . . .'"

The fact that this greatest contribution to music here in America in the modern time should have come from a descendant of the Irish employing an Irish theme is not surprising once the place of the Irish race in music is appreciated. Originality in musical invention is so extremely rare among the descendants of the English here in America that it would be very strange indeed to find our most interesting musical product coming from that strain. The genius of MacDowell with the deep melancholy of his nature is typical of the Irish more than any other of the many mingled races that we have here in America. MacDowell himself recognized the

source of his musical genius and undoubtedly that was the reason why his greatest musical composition so naturally set itself to the musical elaboration of an old historic Irish theme. His success is a demonstration in the modern time of the musical genius of his people.[10]

CHAPTER VII

Rhymed Poetry

THE most precious contribution of the Irish to the literature of the world is rhyme in poetry which is an invention of the early Christian poets in Ireland. It has been contended that rhyme was an invention of the Arabs but there is no good evidence of any kind for this. The Arabs did not come into any prominence in literature until the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century and rhyme was already not only in existence but in very perfect form among Irish poets for considerably more than a century before that. Latin literature was so deeply influenced by Greek that there was no question of the use of rhyme. The genius of the Greek tongue did not lend itself to rhyme and though we have Greek literature for nearly a thousand years, there is never any hint of the use of similar sounds at regular intervals to add the music of speech to the regular measured length of line with recurring quantities and the cesural pause.

The first certain examples of rhyme in poetry are found on Celtic soil and among Celtic nations. Constantine Negra, the distinguished European scholar, does not hesitate to say that we are forced to the conclusion that the Celtic poets in the rules of their

assonance were the inventors of rhyme. Zeuss, another of the well known scholars whose knowledge of linguistics and whose studies in philology give him a right to an opinion in the matter, says:

"The form of Celtic poetry, to judge both from the older and the more recent examples adduced, appears to be more ornate than the poetic form of any other nation, and even more ornate in the older poems than in the modern ones; from the fact of which greater ornateness had undoubtedly come to pass that at the very time the Roman Empire was hastening to ruin, the Celtic forms—at first entire, afterwards in part—passed over not only into the songs of the Latins, but also into those of other nations and remain in them."

Douglas Hyde in his "Literary History of Ireland" says that it is:

"A tremendous claim to make for the Celt that he taught Europe to rhyme; it is a claim in comparison with which if it could be substantiated everything else that he has done in literature pales into insignificance. Yet it has been made for him by some of the foremost European scholars. The great Zeuss himself is emphatic on the point."

Mr. Hyde discusses other authorities for and against the claim that the world owes rhyme to the Irish and the only conclusion that can possibly be reached is that if the Irish are not wholly responsible for the movement that led to rhyme, they did so much more than any other nation for it, that it is

perfectly clear that the world's debt to them in the matter is so much larger than to any other as to be supreme. Hyde quotes Constantine Negra in his edition of the Glosses in the Codex Taurinensis as declaring, "final assonance or rhyme can have been derived only from the laws of the Celtic phonology."

It is curiously interesting to realize that while all the forms of ancient poetry, rhythm, metre, quantity and the cesural pause, came from the distant east and are to be found in the ancient Hindu poems, perhaps the oldest poems extant, rhyme which is a characteristic and extremely important feature of modern poetry, should have been invented in the distant west, the farthest west of the known world of the time—in Ireland. It is not surprising however that this should be the case once we know the conditions in which rhyme originated. The Irish were a people intensely devoted to melody and music. They have invented more melodies by far than any other nation. I believe that altogether over 5,000 different melodies have been collected from the old Irish sources or are known to be extant. A few years before his death Dr. P. W. Joyce, the well known Irish historian, spent several summers over on the Islands of Aran which lie out in the Atlantic off Galway Bay, and collected over 500 Irish melodies that had never been written down before. He found that these ignorant peasants, utterly unable to read or to write, were able to speak their Irish tongue with marvelous correctness and flexibility and that as they sat around the fire of an evening

after supper they sang songs of the older time and every now and then one of the singers ran to a melody which Dr. Joyce had never heard before though he was deeply interested in music and had a marvelous memory for Irish airs, and more had been collecting Irish airs for over forty years.

To such a musical people it seemed the most natural thing in the world that there should be music in verse and that the recurring sounds at the ends of their lines of poetry should have such similarity of phonation as added real music to verse. Anyone who realizes how much modern poetry would lack of satisfying quality if rhyme were eliminated will become convinced of the value for the expression of poetic ideas in such a way as to catch the popular ear of this invention made by the Irish. Modern free versifiers have felt that they could get along without the adventitious aid of rhyme but their movement has not been at all successful so far as attracting popular attention is concerned and has met with no little deprecation from poets and litterateurs who should presumably have the best right to an opinion on the subject. We are not likely ever again to have serious poetry in any modern language without rhyme as an accessory to it, unless perhaps occasionally in some special mood there may be an expression of the very unusual thoughts of mankind in this way. This Irish invention has stamped itself for all time on poetic expression and who will venture to say that it has not been a decided impetus rather than a shackle to the development of poetry.

Ordinarily it would be presumed that the necessity incumbent on the poet for elaborating and modifying his thought in order to express it in rhymed form would hamper his power of expression and deform the message that he had to convey so that it would only too often be transmitted without the full significance that it would have under less cramping circumstances. As a matter of fact however the obligation the poet willingly accepts in all formal poetry of expressing himself within the narrow bounds prescribed for him by poetic conventions, has encouraged depth of thought and above all the thinking out of the real meaning of his message better than would otherwise be the case. The more facile the mode of expression, the more superficial is likely to be the thought. While striving after such modes of expression as will fit in with the chosen frame of rhyme and metre, the poet gets to know more and more about the true inwardness of what he is trying to express. Instead of hampering his thought, on the contrary it is deepened and heartened by enforced occupation with it in the search for appropriate expression. Rhyme has actually added to rather than subtracted from the profounder meaning of poetic thought down the centuries ever since the Irish poets having first used assonance,[11] that is, the recurrence of vowel sounds at regular intervals after a time came to the use of combined similar consonantal as well as vowel sounds for this purpose especially in terminal posi-

tions in the line. That constituted rhyme as we know it.

As the result of the Irish love of melody from such early antiquity in Ireland as to run quite beyond the memory of men or the documents of history, all the official and legal records were put into verse to secure their remembrance and because people would listen to them much more readily. The ancient history and genealogy of the Irish were in verse as were also their ancient laws. Such old-fashioned documents as the Book of Rights were in rhyme. So was the Calendar of Aengus. When Patrick took up the codification of the ancient laws of Ireland enacted before the coming of Christianity he was careful to preserve this ancient custom so that men might more easily remember the laws. One of the poets among his followers was asked "to put a thread of poetry around them." It is not surprising under these circumstances to find that the oldest lives of the saints that we have among the Irish are in rhymed verse or sometimes in mixed prose and verse. The Irish laws and saints' lives were thus the forerunners of the mixed verse and prose of the medieval romances some of which have come to be greatly thought of as contributions to literature in our day as the result of the reawakened interest in things medieval.

According to tradition the earliest Irish poem is one which is supposed to have been spoken by Aimirgin, the son of Mile the leader of the Milesians

from the deck of one of the invading Milesian ships. The metre of the original is called *Rosg*. Each succeeding line repeats with its first half what was said in the end of the preceding line and there is a certain very interesting and stimulating effect produced upon the mind by this repetition which arises to a sort of climax as the thought progresses. This is a metre native to the Irish seldom used by other peoples and illustrates the ingenuity of the Irish in such literary effects. The poem has been translated with an imitation of the original metrical and repetitious effect by Professor MacNeill, the distinguished authority on Gaelic poetry.

"I invoke the land of Ireland:
Much-coursed be the fertile sea,
Fertile be the fruit-strewn mountain,
Fruit-strewn be the showery wood,
Showery be the river of waterfalls,
Of waterfalls be the lake of deep pools,
Deep-pooled be the hill-top well,
A well of tribes be the assembly,
An assembly of kings be Temair,
Temair be the hill of the tribes,
The tribes of the sons of Mil,
Of Mil of the ships, the barks!

Let the lofty bark be Ireland,
Lofty Ireland, darkly sung,
An incantation of great cunning:
The great cunning of the wives of Bres,
The wives of Bres, of Buaigne;
The great lady, Ireland,

Eremon hath conquered her,
I, Eber, have invoked for her.
I invoke the land of Ireland!"

The first complete use of rhyme in Irish poetry comes in the Christian hymns so many of which were written by the Irish in the intense enthusiasm of their religious feelings in the early days of Christianity when their fervor was as yet fresh upon them. Some of these hymns are attributed to certain of the great saints, apparently without good reason; but others are probably correctly attributed for the spell of poetry as well as of religion was over the land and on the lips of the early saints.

The story of Patrick's approach to Tara was the occasion for one of these hymns and the whole incident is very well known. On Easter Eve toward nightfall he lighted the Pascal fire on the Hill of Slane. The king and his nobles were lighting the fire of the Spring festival when Patrick's fire blazed up. This was a great shock at Tara because no fire was supposed to be lighted until after that at the court. When the king summoned the Druids and questioned them, they replied, "If that fire which we now see be not extinguished tonight it will never be extinguished but will eclipse all our fires and he that has kindled it will overturn thy kingdom." The king in rage sent to summon the strangers before him. Knowing the greeting he was likely to receive, Patrick composed the following hymn, the oldest Christian verse in the Gaelic tongue which has been translated in the metre of the original.

There are critics who find in it something of the simplicity and directness of St. Francis of Assisi's Hymn of the Creatures combined with that naïveté so characteristic of Irish poetry.

"At Tara today in this fateful hour
I place all heaven with its power,
And the sun with its brightness,
And the snow with its whiteness,
And the fire with all the strength it hath,
And the lightning with its rapid wrath,
And the winds with their swiftness along their path,
And the sea with its deepness,
And the rocks with their steepness,
And the earth with its starkness,
All these I place
By God's almighty help and grace
Between myself and the power of darkness."

Very probably one of the most striking examples of early rhymed poetry is to be found in what is known as "The Deer's Cry" or in Irish the *Faed Fiada*. Many authorities in the history of Gaelic literature have not hesitated to declare this to be among the very earliest Christian hymns written in Gaelic and to have been written by Patrick himself. The tale that goes with it enables us to understand the reason for the curious title, "The Deer's Cry." While Patrick and his companions were making their way on one of their missionary journeys they were to have been ambushed by the Druids and their followers, who meant to intercept and kill them because of the inroads that they were making

upon the ancient religion by their preaching. The missionaries led by Patrick were singing this hymn of pleading for protection by the Almighty as they came to the place of ambush and the eyes of their enemies were held and did not see them but saw only a harmless herd of gentle deer go by. Hence the hymn's title. Dr. Sigerson translated the hymn in the same measure, metre and rhythm as the original and this will give the modern student of the subject some idea of the perfection of rhyme in poetry among the Irish at this time.

"I bind me today,

I

God's might to direct me,
God's power to protect me,
God's wisdom for learning,
God's eye for discerning,
God's ear for my hearing,
God's word for my clearing.

II

"God's hand for my cover,
God's path to pass over,
God's buckler to guard me,
God's army to ward me,
Against snares of the devil,
Against vice's temptation,
Against wrong inclination,
Against men who plot evil,
Anear or afar, with many or few.

III

"Christ near,
Christ here,

Christ be with me,
Christ beneath me,
Christ within me,
Christ behind me,
Christ be o'er me,
Christ before me.

IV

"Christ in the left and the right,
Christ hither and thither,
Christ in the sight,
Of each eye that shall seek me,
In each ear that shall hear,
In each mouth that shall speak me—
Christ not the less
In each heart I address.
I bind me today on the Triune—I call,
With faith in the Trinity—Unity—God over all."

When under the protection of the favor from on high which came to them as the result of their fervent singing of the hymn Patrick and his companions had been carried safe by the Lord through the ambush set for them at their entrance into the Court all present were very deeply impressed. The king had declared that no marks of respect must be given these strangers who had so often proved regardless of the customs and usages of the king's court. So struck were all however with Patrick's escape from the destruction which they knew had been prepared for him and his impressive appearance before them, that at once when he came into the presence of the court two of the king's greatest favorites rose out of respect for him. These two

according to the old tradition were Dubthach, the king's Ollam poet, and a young noble named Erc who after his conversion became bishop and is known as one of the most ardent of the followers of Patrick and a successful missionary among his people. These two men, both of them deeply loved by all members of the court, were Patrick's first converts at Tara. Their conversion is always connected with the miracle of "The Deer's Cry."

The poet who made the Irish custom of rhyme popular throughout Europe was Sedulius, an Irish Shiel or Shealy, who is usually considered to have been an Irish priest who lived most of his life in Italy and seems to have done his writing during the reigns of Emperor Theodosius the Younger who died in 450 and of Valentinian III who died in 455. He wrote Latin hymns using many rhymes in them and some of these were adopted for use in the liturgy of the Church and thus attracted attention everywhere. Some of the hymns are to be found in the breviaries. A thousand years after his death Luther made a translation of one of them into German though there had been German versions before that. The hymn on the Nativity is attributed to Sedulius by Venerable Bede so that there is no doubt at all about its antiquity. The principal work of Sedulius is a poem in five books called *Carmen Paschale*. The first book contains a summary of the Old Testament, the four others a summary of the New Testament. In an introduction to the poem the author says that he had given himself at first to secular

studies and to the "barren diversion" of secular poetry. The poem is so charmingly done, is so simple and yet so distinguished, the style easy yet so resonant of the classic poets of Rome, that it is no wonder that it was popular.

Sedulius[12] was manifestly a very broadly learned scholar. He must have known his Virgil almost by heart for he has Virgilian phrases and words constantly at his fingers' ends. There is distinct evidence however that he read besides Virgil, Ovid and Lucan as well as Tibullus and Terence and probably Martial and Catullus.

The first stanza of the portion of the *Carmen Paschale*[13] relating to the Nativity is an excellent example of Sedulius' use of rhyme. Not all the stanzas are so happy as this in rhyming.

"A solis ortus cardine
Ad usque terrae limitem
Christum canamus principem,
Natum Maria virgine."

The third stanza is less successful as an example of rhyme but it shows the tendency toward perfecting it as an instrument which was to make itself felt in the next succeeding generations.

"Castae parentis viscera
Coelestis intrat gratia:
Venter puellae baiulat
Secreta, quae non noverat."

The fourth and fifth stanzas of the portion of the poem devoted to the Epiphany, which like that

on the Nativity is often printed as a separate hymn or so used in the liturgy, present further examples of the use of similar vowel and consonant sounds at the end of lines which represent the striving after rhyme that was to be so interesting a modality of the Latin hymns of the Church in the later Middle Ages. These represent the beginnings of what was to be a very significant use of similar sounds for poetic purposes in Latin.

"Lavacra puri gurgitis
Coelestis agnus attigit:
Peccata, quae non detulit,
Nos abluendo sustulit.

Miraculis dedit fidem,
Habere se Deum patrem,
Infirma sanans corpora,
Resuscitans cadavera."

Another excellent example of Irish rhymed poetry is the lament of the son of King Eogan of Connaught for the life of scholarly peace and intellectual happiness which he felt it necessary to give up because as a king's son his duty toward his people called him out from Clonmacnois and its cloistered life into the hurly-burly of the world. It would remind one of Hamlet called away from the university by the death of his father to find that life held no more of joy and peace for him because the practical life of the world demanded that he should devote himself to affairs of state under trying circumstances.

According to the story, King Eogan, wounded to death and conscious of the fact that he was not long for this world, advised his chieftains to beseech his eldest son, Cellach, to leave his student life at Clonmacnois and assume arms and kingship for the safety of the state. Reluctantly the young prince consented. He was deeply intent on his studies and he was finding happiness and joy in them, but this was at an end. Very soon after he had taken up the kingship there arose a rival who made a successful revolution and Cellach escaped to the woods with a small band where he was able to maintain himself. There was a strong contrast with the happiness of his scholarly retreat and it was in the midst of this guerilla warfare that he composed the poem known as his lament, circa 540. The translation is Dr. Sigerson's in the metre and rhyme scheme of the original.

LAMENT OF CELLACH

Woe to him who leaveth lore,
For the red World's arts or ore,
Who the True God's love would leave,
With the false World's king to cleave.

Woe who taketh arms in life,
And repenteth not of strife,
Better far books of whiteness,
Where psalms are seen in brightness.

Though great the warrior's glory,
Much the toil and short his state,
Swift and short his life has passed,
In exchange for hell at last.

Still, stealthy trades his meanest
Murky, worn, lankest, leanest,
Whosoever hath good at first,
Still he seemeth wicked worst.

Such the stains that fell upon
Hapless Cellach, Eogan's son,
Roaming now from place to place,
With a band of outlaws base.

Woe who leave high heart of saints,
For dark hell and horrid plaints,
Christ our light o'er combats dim,
Who forsakes Thee, woe to him.

These early Irish hymns show very clearly that there was no phase of music in verse so far as the repetition of similar sounds at regular intervals is concerned that the Irish poets were missing. On the contrary it is quite evident that the instrument of rhyme in poetry was perfected by them to an extent that made it a precious heritage of the race forever after, almost exactly in the form in which the Irish had originally fashioned it. There are perhaps more musical languages than the Gaelic, though it would be very hard to get a Gael to confess that. I have heard an old Irish speaker on the Aran Islands say that he was quite sure that Irish had

been the language of the Garden of Eden for it was such a "soothering tongue" that it must have constituted the speech with which Adam first made love to Eve. He seemed to have an idea that another modern tongue had been spoken also in the Garden of Eden and that it was easy to see what it was and who spoke it from the number of hissing sounds there are in the Sassenach (English). However that may be there is no doubt that the old Gaelic first lent itself to that wondrous addition to poetry which is constituted by rhyme and that the music-loving minds of Irish poets, lovingly fashioned their speech until it responded in musical numbers.

CHAPTER VIII

Beautiful Book Making

THE most convincing evidence for the high level of artistry as well as culture which the Irish reached long before the end of the first millennium of the Christian era is to be found in the extremely beautiful books that were their handiwork. These we know not from tradition but from actual inspection. In spite of their highly destructible nature a goodly number of these have by singular good fortune been preserved for us for considerably more than a thousand years. We owe their conservation for all this time to more than good fortune however. It is evident that Irish devotion to the cult of beautiful things succeeded in preventing the vicissitudes of time and foreign invasion to say nothing of domestic wars and local disturbances of all kinds from bringing about the almost inevitable destruction of such eminently perishable objects.

To say that the most beautiful book in all the world was made during the eighth century or perhaps a little earlier in Ireland would be to arouse at once in most people the very definite reaction that any such superlative expression as that must surely represent an arrant exaggeration if not a positive misstatement. Bookmaking has developed so wonderfully in the modern times, while at the date men-

tioned (the eighth century) the great period of art of the earlier Renaissance in the thirteenth century and of the later Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth were as yet so far away in the distant future, that it would seem *a priori* quite out of the question that any such assertion could possibly be true. Only that we have the book itself to bear out the assertion, no one would believe for a moment that the rude and barbarous people whom almost all the world would inevitably suppose the Irish to have been in the eighth century could by any possible stretch of the imagination be conceived as making and completing the most beautiful book that ever came from the hand of man. And yet this is exactly what the actual specimen that we possess demonstrates beyond all doubt.

There are a number of these marvelous old Irish books though one stands out above all the others. The world is now very well agreed that the Irish illumination of manuscript which characterizes these books is the most beautiful of its *genre* that ever was done. It is a never ending source of surprise that over a thousand years ago the Irish should have thought so much of books as to devote all this time and labor as well as painstaking artistry to them, but we have a number of striking examples as the proofs and we can only listen to the declarations of those who know them best. Father Power in his "Early Christian Ireland" said:

"There suddenly blazed forth in the eighth cen-

tury an Irish Art which astonished the world. From Ireland it spread its influence not only to Great Britain, but over a considerable part of West, North and Central Europe. However it came, the art of illumination was cultivated in the Irish monasteries with a success which has not been reached elsewhere. It is not too much to say that in the art of illumination the early Christian artist of Ireland has never been excelled. His inexhaustible exuberance and invention seem almost uncanny, and equally remarkable, or almost so, are his inimitable delicacy of execution and the uniform certainty of his marvellous hand."

Very probably the easiest and surest criterion for the estimation of the level of culture which a people has reached at a particular period of their development is that which is to be revealed by the kind of books they make. For the appreciation of books is the best index of that interest in the things of the mind rather than the body which represents the elimination of barbaric instincts and the cultivation of intellectual interests. Whenever beautiful books are made it is a demonstration of artistic taste in the makers but also in the users of them. The patience required for the execution of genuine art of high excellence will soon be exhausted unless there is a reasonable prospect of admiration for the products of it. Manifestly the Irish must have been a cultivated people in the best sense of that term or such beautiful books as we have from them would not have been made by them and for them.

What is declared by experts in bibliography or in paleography to be the most beautiful book ever made is the Book of Kells,[14] so called because of the little town in the abbey of which it was probably made and in which after being long lost it was found in comparatively modern times. It is preserved in Trinity College library, Dublin, the most precious treasure of the old institution's valuable collection. The book consists of a copy of the Scriptures executed manifestly with the most loving care and without regard for the time and labor required for its execution. The illuminations are beautiful almost beyond description. The book must be seen to be properly appreciated but it must be studied long and carefully for all its excellencies of art to become clear. It has been the subject of reverential study by many of the specialists in paleography who are familiar with the other great manuscript treasures of the world and they are a unit in declaring it the most beautiful of them all.

Miss Stokes, of the famous family of Irish archæologists, who knows the book well from faithful study for years and who had doubtless read everything written with regard to it up to her time, is enthusiastic over the beauty and artistic variety of the volume. She dwelt particularly on the marvels of art that occur in the first half dozen pages of the book. Her years of study and her refined taste gave her the right to an opinion on the subject and the quotation of it affords the best evidence for the su-

preme artistic value of the work. Here is her description.*

"The words, *Liber Generationis Christi,* at the opening of the Gospel of St. Matthew, form the subject of six pages which are the most wonderful examples of illumination in this MS. At the close of the preface to the Gospel, the first is devoted to the four evangelical symbols, framed in a highly ornamental border; in this page we see a figure probably representing St. Matthew; in that following, we have the words *Liber Generationis,* which occupy an entire folio. Next comes a picture of Christ, His hand raised in benediction; this is followed by a page of merely ornamental work, and then the whole series is crowned by the name of Christ, XPI. In these six pages there is a gradual increase of splendour, the culminating point of which is reached in this monogram of Christ, and upon it is lavished with all the fervent devotion of the Irish scribe, every variety of design to be found in Celtic Art, so that the name which is the epitome of his faith, is also the epitome of his country's Art."

Miss Stokes in her "Early Christian Art in Ireland," has emphasized particularly the perfection with which the decorative parts of the illuminations were accomplished. She recalls the story that is told by Vasari,—that inspired biographer of artists,—of the great Italian artist of the thirteenth century, Giotto. According to an old tradition Giotto as a shepherd boy was discovered by Cimabue making

* "Early Christian Art in Ireland" in series of South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks.

sketches on rocks in the fields with a piece of flint and recognized at once that here was an example of fine power over line drawing. After some years with Cimabue, Giotto's fame spread until it reached Rome where the pope was redecorating the old church of St. Peter's which after the fire was replaced by the present great church, Michelangelo's creation. Wishing to be sure that the young artist would be worthy of an invitation to do some decoration for St. Peter's, Pope Benedict IX sent a messenger to Florence requesting Giotto to give him a drawing to bring to His Holiness that might afford a sample of his powers. Giotto noted for his courtesy took a sheet of paper and a pencil dipped in red color, according to the story, then resting his elbow on his side with one turn of the hand he drew a circle so perfect and exact that it was a marvel to behold. When the pope received it and above all after he submitted it to his art advisers and they were told the circumstances of its drawing, all agreed that Giotto deserved an invitation to Rome. He received it and painted the scene of Peter's Bark still to be seen in mosaic in the portico of the new St. Peter's, the only relic of old St. Peter's that remains.

This is the story of the famous O of Giotto demonstrating how much high technical skill was appreciated in the days of great religious Art. As Miss Stokes says:

"To draw a circle unaided by the compass, is a feat only to be accomplished by an eye and hand in

perfect training in obedience to the artist's will. Such circles are to be seen in every page of the Book of Kells. There is no instance of a letter O in the large round lettering of this book in which the slightest sign of a swerving hand is perceptible."

Quite needless to say for anyone who has had a chance to look at the Book of Kells even a little carefully, there are ever so many examples of curves of all kinds, circles, spirals, ellipses, and the surprise is the perfection of them all. The perfect line is the typical characteristic of the book.

There is perhaps one thing that is even more surprising and that is that all this minute decoration is accomplished so meticulously though the seeing of it properly and appreciatively in our time requires the use of a rather strong magnifying glass. We have no hint in tradition that the Irish artists actually used magnifying glasses in the doing of the decoration of the pages but it would seem as though they must have had them.

It must have required almost infinite patience to draw the extremely fine lines in such absolutely regular curves as occur so constantly in the Book of Kells in anything like the perfection which they exhibit. Manifestly the hearts of the Irish scribes were in their work and no labor was too much and no patience too great to demand of them in the creation of this beautiful copy of the Scriptures which they were unalterably intent on making as near perfect as human hand and eye could possibly accomplish that purpose.

Mr. Louis Ely Carroll in his article on Irish Manuscripts written for the volume "The Glories of Ireland" (Washington, 1914), summed up the distinctiveness of the Book of Kells more concisely and completely than probably it had ever been done before. A little later in this chapter we shall touch on the fact that the human color sense is sometimes said to have developed by a process of evolution to a considerable extent in comparatively recent generations. Any such development is evidently not true so far as the Irish are concerned for these ancient scribes possessed a marvelous color sense as is very well brought out by Mr. Carroll in his description of the Book of Kells. He said:

"Into its pages are woven such a wealth of ornament, such an ecstasy of art, and such a miracle of design that the book is today not only one of Ireland's greatest glories but one of the world's wonders. After twelve centuries the ink is as black and lustrous and the colors are as fresh and soft as though but the work of yesterday. The whole range of colors is there — green, blue, crimson, scarlet, yellow, purple, violet — and the same color is at times varied in tone and depth and shade, thereby achieving a more exquisite combination and effect. In addition to the numerous decorative pages and marvelous initials, there are portraits of the Evangelists and full-page miniatures of the Temptation of Christ, His Seizure by the Jews, and the Madonna and Child surrounded by Angels with censers. Exceptionally beautiful are these angels and other angelic figures throughout the

book, their wings shining with glowing colors amid woven patterns of graceful design. The portraits and miniatures and the numerous faces centred in initial letters are not to be adjudged by the standard of anatomical drawing and delineation of the human figure, but rather by their effect as part of a scheme of ornamentation; for the Celtic illuminator was imaginative rather than realistic, and aimed altogether at achieving beauty by means of color and design. The Book of Kells is the Mecca of the illuminative artist, but it is the despair of the copyist. The patience and skill of the olden scribe have baffled the imitator; for, on examination with a magnifying glass, it has been found that, in a space of a quarter of an inch, there are no fewer than a hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a ribbon pattern of white lines edged by black ones on a black ground. Surely this is the manuscript which was shown to Giraldus Cambrensis towards the close of the twelfth century and of whose illuminations he speaks with glowing enthusiasm; 'they were,' he says, 'supposed to have been produced by the direction of an angel at the prayer of St. Brigid.' "

The Book of Kells was probably, as we have seen in the chapter on St. Bridget, never at Kildare. Gerald Barry almost surely saw another illuminated copy of the Scriptures there but in default of the manuscript that he saw his expression fits the Book of Kells very well.

What Sir Edward Sullivan says at the beginning of his Introduction to "The Book of Kells" (London, New York, 1914) may seem the language of an

enthusiast but it sums up the qualities of this great illuminated manuscript volume so well as to deserve quotation:

"Its weird and commanding beauty; its subdued and goldless colouring; the baffling intricacy of its fearless designs; the clean, unwavering sweep of rounded spiral; the creeping undulations of serpentine forms, that writhe in artistic profusion throughout the mazes of its decorations; the strong and legible minuscule of its text; the quaintness of its striking portraiture; the unwearied reverence and patient labour that brought it into being; all of which combined go to make up the Book of Kells, have raised this ancient Irish volume to a position of abiding pre-eminence amongst the illuminated manuscripts of the world."

In their book illuminations the Irish used neither gold nor silver but obtained all their effects with colored inks. Over on the continent the custom of using both gold and silver in book decoration was quite common. Somehow the Irish felt that it was not the value of the materials but the human artistry that made their work on the books priceless. There is but one unfortunate element in these Irish book decorations. The illuminators did not sign their names as the metal workers who made their beautiful pieces almost invariably did. Somehow the makers of beautiful editions of the Scriptures seemed to think, that perhaps the merit of their work, in the worthy expression as far as it was possible to them of the word of God, might be lost, if they

attached their names to it in any way and so we have no idea of the personality of any of them though we know that there were a great many of them capable of doing very beautiful work during the course of several centuries.

The monogram page of the Book of Kells is said to contain almost all the varieties of design to be found in Celtic art. It is so called because the greatest part of the decoration is taken up with the abbreviated word XPI, the three Greek letters that constitute the classical abbreviation for the name *Christi.* The elaborateness of the decoration is almost beyond belief. Perhaps the best testimony to its intricacy and minute artistry is to be found in the fact that the page is so beautiful that it has tempted many modern draftsmen to make a copy of it, but though a great many have tried they have failed almost without exception and a number of the most accomplished and most enthusiastic admirers of the page among the draftsmen have confessed their inability to make a copy that would satisfy them. Usually they did not make this confession until after they had spent considerable time in an attempt to do it and felt compelled to give it up. Some of these men had previously copied pages from others of the ancient manuscripts as for instance from the Book of Lindisfarne but they found the Book of Kells beyond their power.

It is not alone the larger initials of the Book of Kells and the specially illuminated pages that attract attention to it, but it is above all the smaller illum-

inated initials which owing to their great profusion would distinguish the Book of Kells from every other manuscript ever written. As Sir Edward Sullivan says:

"Some idea of the total number of these very exquisite gems may be gathered from the fact that excluding the large illuminations every verse of every chapter in the four Gospels commences with one of them."

Every one of them is different from every other. It is said that no two human beings ever born have ever been exactly alike and it has been suggested that this is the evidence that the Creator loves above all individuality. This seems to have been the idea in the minds of the Irish scribes and it is marvelously exemplified. The infinite variety of these smaller initial letters "shows an artistic originality of a perfectly bewildering nature."

The human figures particularly, though also the animal figures, are grotesque. Occasionally they have been labelled "barbaric" or even "hideous" by those who were not willing to concede that there could have been genuine aesthetic feeling and superb artistry in the Ireland of over a thousand years ago. It must not be forgotten however that the medieval people had a sense of the grotesque that is most interesting and the significance of which is often missed by people of the modern time. The gargoyles and many of the decorations of the medieval cathedrals that are undoubtedly very beautiful, many

passages in Dante that are the purest of poetry, are yet eminently grotesque.

John Ruskin probably has summed that up in a commentary on Dante better than has ever been done. He has even ventured to suggest that a proper sense of the grotesque is the touchstone of greatness in literature and in art as well as in men. He said in the "Stones of Venice":

"I believe that there is no test of greatness in periods, nations, or men more sure than the development among them or in them, of a noble grotesque; and no test of comparative smallness or limitation, of one kind or another, more sure than the absence of grotesque invention or incapability of understanding it. I think that the central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest, is Dante; and in him the grotesque reaches at once the most distinct and the most noble development to which it was ever brought in the human mind. . . . Of the grotesqueness in our own Shakespeare I need hardly speak, nor of its intolerableness to his French critics; nor of that of Aeschylus and Homer, as opposed to the lower Greek writers; and so I believe it will be found, at all periods, in all minds of the first order."

It has been suggested that even though the Book of Kells is probably the most beautiful illuminated book ever made, this means only that a great genius in illumination was born out of time in the seventh or eighth century and accomplished the work of an

enduring admirable quality such as genius is likely to achieve at any time in the world's history. Fortunately we have not only traditions but definite remains and documents of various kinds which make it very clear that the illuminator of the Book of Kells so far from being a solitary genius in his time was only one, though assuredly a surpassing one in a large group of great illuminators about that time. Sir Edward Sullivan in his Introduction to the reproductions of the more important pages of the Book of Kells, says: "The 'Annals of the Four Masters' give us the names of no less than sixty-one remarkable scribes or illuminators that flourished in Ireland before the year 900 A. D. Forty of these lived between A. D. 700 and 800." Undoubtedly many very beautiful manuscripts have been lost. Some of these were probably rivals of the Book of Kells. One of them, that seen at Kildare by Gerald the Welshman, may even have been more beautiful than the Book of Kells though it is extremely difficult for anyone who knows that famous volume well to imagine it.

The question as to the date of the book has been very thoroughly discussed. For a time it was thought to have been written by St. Columba (Columcille) or some of his monks. It has now been determined that it could not have been written so early as the middle of the sixth century; the very perfection of the writing and elaborate detail of art that adorns its pages puts that quite out of the question. Besides, the Book of Kells contains St.

Jerome's revised version of the Scriptures and this version was not adopted in Ireland in Columcille's day. The book was probably written and illuminated at the close of the seventh century. It is an older, and as it were, the parent of such a book as "St. Cuthbert's Gospel" now in the British Museum. This was probably written by Eadfrith, A. D. 698-721, and illuminated by Ethelwald, his contemporary. Miss Stokes suggests that

"it is quite in harmony with other information we possess as to the skill of Irish writers of the seventh and eighth centuries to hold that the Book of Kells may have been illuminated at the close of the seventh century and one of the scribes engaged on this work may have been Ethelwald's teacher. Among the names of Saxon students who visited Ireland before the eighth century we find that of Eadfrith."

Cuthbert himself is claimed by the English but as we have seen in chapter II, "Missionaries of Christianity and Culture," there is weighty evidence for his having been of Irish origin, or at least educated in Ireland, and owing his interest in illuminations to his Irish training.

The early commentators on the manuscript, O'Donovan of Four Masters' fame and Dr. Todd being amongst them, ascribed the book very definitely to the sixth century. Miss Stokes, as I have said, and Professor Middleton as well as other good authorities of the nineteenth century declare that it belonged to the latter half of the seventh century.

Dr. E. H. Zimmerman in a work on the "Miniatures Before the Carolingian Period" dates the Kells manuscript circa A. D. 700. Sir Edward Sullivan in his Introduction to the Book of Kells, New York, 1914, is inclined to place the date even a little later in the latter half of the ninth century which is also the opinion of R. A. S. McAllister in "Essays and Studies" 1913, who dates the Book of Lindisfarne which he believes was earlier than the Kells manuscript circa 830. This would place the Kells volume about the middle of the same century.

What is interesting for us about the difference of opinion in this matter is that here are a large group of men and women who know the ancient Irish very well, that is those of the early centuries of the Middle Ages, and they are inclined to consider it possible, as Sir John Gilbert actually suggests, that the manuscript of the Book of Kells may have been produced any time between 600 and 900 A. D. The spread in the dates is a definite demonstration of the thorough conviction of these experts, that at any time during this period there could have been a scribe of such high artistic quality as to produce the Book of Kells. This is indeed a very high tribute of appreciation for the Irish illuminators and book artists of that time. When there were men capable of producing such work and a large number of the people ready to appreciate it properly, for without that it is doubtful whether any artist would undertake the work, it is perfectly clear that the level of culture among the people must have been very

high indeed. The uncertainty as to the date of the Book of Kells then instead of militating in any way against the artistry of any of these centuries, is of itself very definite evidence of the extension of artistic cultivation of very high powers over a long period in the early centuries of the Middle Ages in Ireland.

In his volume published in the English series, "The Antiquaries' Books," J. Romilly Allen discussing "Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times," has given the best accounts that we have of the origins of the various decorative motifs that are found not only in the illumination of the Irish manuscripts but also on the old Irish book shrines, the covers of their missals, their brooches and chalices, their croziers, bell shrines or covers as well as on the high crosses of old Irish times. His careful studies have made it rather clear just how the various decorative modes originated. He has traced the interlacing ornament used in Celtic art into a series of classes that makes it easy to understand its genesis and evolution from simpler forms. There is 1, the regular plait work without any breaks; 2, the broken plait work with breaks made in irregular way; 3, knot work; 4, circular knot work; 5, triangular knot work, and 6, ring work or chain work. He points out that in Egyptian, Greek and Roman decorative art the only kind of interlaced work is the plait without any modification whatever. He adds:

"The man who discovered how to devise new pat-

terns from a simple plait by making what I term 'breaks', laid the foundation of all the wonderfully complicated and truly bewildering forms of interlaced ornament found in such a masterpiece of the art of illuminations as the Book of Kells."

The key pattern so-called because it bears a certain resemblance to the indentations of the key, made to allow it to pass the wards of a lock, was a favorite among the Irish but they made the lines run diagonally to the margins instead of parallel to them and this added greatly to their effectiveness. This leaves the corners undecorated but the Irish learned how to fill these in with additional effectiveness to the pattern and a decorative finish that is very distinctive. It was a question of taking the simpler forms of Greco-Roman art and modifying them artistically. The spiral is the only decorative motif used in Christian Celtic art as Mr. Allen thinks that can be proved to have been borrowed from the pagan Celtic art of the preceding period. The spiral was the earliest decorative motive in Christian Celtic art and was the first to disappear and its disappearance marks the decadence of the style.

If the Book of Kells stood alone it might possibly be thought that it was a happy accident due to a single extremely gifted artist or to a small group of men inspired by him. We have however a number of other works of similar character though none of them so supremely beautiful as the Book of Kells. In Ireland there is for instance the Book of Dur-

row, a fragment of the Gospels with illuminations in the same style of art. A curious point connected with the antiquity of the book is, as pointed out by Miss Stokes, that in the miniature of the ecclesiastic at the end of the volume the Irish tonsure or shaving of the head is represented and not the Roman. The Irish custom was to shave the head of ecclesiastics from ear to ear, while the Roman was in the form of a crown. The Irish tonsure was derived from St. Patrick and continued to be in use until toward the end of the first quarter of the eighth century. It is said that the Roman tonsure was introduced in the year 718 and was first adopted by the community at Iona. The Book of Durrow then is earlier than that, and this confirms the dating of the Book of Kells at the end of the seventh century. While there are fewer varieties of design in the Book of Durrow than in the Book of Kells, such as occur belong to the most characteristic and beautiful archaic style of Irish Christian art.

After Folio 104 of the Book of Durrow the capital letters are slightly colored; yellow, red, green and black. Manifestly the artists took the greatest possible pains with this portion. There is a remarkable specimen of the writer's skill even on Folio 103 where the central portion of the text is written in semi-cursive letters, in the shape of a diamond. In design and execution as a number of experts have declared these ornamental portions of the Book of Durrow actually rival if they do not in some points surpass the grace and delicate execution of the letters

in the Book of Kells. Other volumes that contain extremely beautiful manuscript work are, the Stowe Missal, the Book of Dimma, the Book of St. Moling, the Garland of Howth which is very beautifully decorated in green, red and yellow, the Irish Antiphonary or Book of Hymns, though there are also others.

The Book of Armagh also to be seen in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is much less elaborately ornamented than the Book of Kells but there are some beautiful illuminations which compare in richness even with the supreme example of Irish book making. The book is extremely interesting because it contains the earliest known copy of St. Patrick's Confession in which he tells the touching tale of how as a slave boy working under hard task masters in Ireland he found his mission so that the captive grew to love his captors and after his escape and the devotion of years to the life of the mind and the spirit, until he was ready for the great task that he considered had been reserved for him—the conversion of the Irish people—he came back bringing to the Irish the light of faith. No wonder that the book containing that story was the subject of very special reverence and that the scribe of it did his utmost to make it as beautiful as possible though of course it was not to be expected that the story of the disciple, even though he was a great apostle, should be as beautifully executed as that of the Master.

There are three extremely beautiful examples of

Irish manuscripts or at least of manuscripts executed under Irish influence to be seen in England. These are the Gospels of McBurnan, now in the archbishop's library at Lambeth, England, the Gospels of St. Chad which are in the Cathedral Library at Litchfield, and the Gospels of Lindisfarne or of St. Cuthbert which have sometimes been spoken of as "the glory of the British Museum." The Gospels of McBurnan is a small but exquisitely beautiful volume which was executed by an abbot of Armagh toward the end of the ninth century. O'Carroll says of it:

"A full-page picture of the Evangelist precedes each Gospel, and a composite border frames each miniature in a bewildering pattern of intertwining strapwork and wonderful designs of imaginary beasts. Ornamental capitals and rich borders give a special beauty to the initial pages of the Gospels."

Of the other two manuscripts in England O'Carroll says, that we owe the Gospels of St. Chad to an Englishman who was educated in Ireland in the School of St. Finian where he acquired his training in book decoration.

"The Gospels of Lindisfarne were produced by the monks of Iona, where St. Columcille founded his great school of religion, art, and learning. This latter manuscript is second only to the Book of Kells in its glory of illuminative design, and, from its distinctive scheme of colors, the tones of which are light and bright and gay, it forms a contrast to the

quieter shades and the solemn dignity of the more famous volume."

The Irish binding of the Cuthbert Gospels or Book of St. Cuthbert is the earliest example of ornamental leather binding that has come down to us. It is done in Irish *motifs* and is charmingly beautiful. It is the absolute demonstration that the Irish were deeply intent on making everything about their books as beautiful as it could be and that in every department of book making they had a taste that was exquisite. Their book shrines or satchels are evidence of the same kind. Their books were very precious to them and they wanted to preserve them from injury in travel but they could not think even of these external covers for their books in conventional terms. Modern collectors who pay high prices in auction rooms for old books have now acquired the habit of keeping their special treasures in leather cases that are made with as much care as the finest of our modern binding. The Irish added jewels and gold as well as other metals to the decoration of their book shrines thus giving almost the effect of jewelry to them.

Bibliophile or book lover has come in the modern time to be the name for a man who is willing to spend almost any amount of money for the acquisition of books that he considers precious. Much of the preciosity of modern books is artificial, consequent upon their rarity and the fashion created among millionaries of bidding high prices for any-

thing that takes their fancy or that will enable them to possess something that has some sort of unique distinction. The Irish made their most precious book the Scripture, just as charmingly beautiful as they could, bound it in exquisite taste and then made a shrine for it. This may seem like bibliophily carried to extreme but it is justified by the deep love for the Book that it expresses and not for some artificial value that a chance volume may have in some way acquired.

Probably nothing illustrates better the artistic taste of the Irish illuminators than their use of colors. As has been said, they present the whole range of the colors of the spectrum from the deepest red to the deepest blue. It has often been suggested that in the course of evolution men have come to recognize colors better than before and to distinguish tints that preceding generations knew nothing of. There is not the slightest reason to think however that in the well above a thousand years that have passed since the Irish illuminators were at work there has been even the slightest progress in the perception of or power to express colors. Very probably the most interesting feature of Irish color work is to be found in the fact that the old manuscript illuminators used the neutral tints to a very great extent and did not rush to the brilliant more or less violent colors that are often said to be the special liking of the uncultured mind. In this regard the Irish anticipated the palette of Puvis du Chavannes more than a millennium before his birth. We

have come to realize in recent years that this represents the most precious tendency for decorative work particularly and after wandering far afield have come back to it, but the Irish reached it very strikingly in the long ago.[15]

The transcribers and manuscript illuminators had not only to possess the taste, the artistry and the technique of beautiful book making, but they were also under the necessity of making their own materials. There was no question of procuring these ready made, a fact that so simplifies the work of the modern artist. They had to be technical experts in the manufacture of colors, as well as artists. The extraordinary neatness of the handwriting and the firm character of all the lines have led some English antiquaries to suggest that the Irish monks who wrote these manuscripts must have used extremely sharp metallic pens. Any such idea however is entirely out of the question. Those who have devoted more study to the subject have not hesitated to declare quite positively that the Irish artist used simply the quills of swans and geese and perhaps certain other birds as the crow. There are a number of pictures to be found in Irish manuscript in which the evangelist engaged in writing his Gospel holds in his hand a pen, the feather of which can be clearly perceived. With what meticulous refinement these quills must have been sharpened only those can appreciate who have tried to make quill pens in the modern time and have found how difficult a matter it is to cut them so that they will be suitable for fine

writing. It is not unlikely that the Irish scribes had discovered some method of hardening the quills in preparation for pen making so that they could be cut to a very fine point which they would retain for a considerable period.

They had to make their own ink and it has been a constant source of surprise ever since how well they made it. It is as absolutely enduring as could possibly be expected. It was manifestly not made of any of the materials now used in our writing fluids because they all have a tendency to fade. The ink on the old Irish manuscripts gives no reaction to chemical tests for iron and it was manifestly made of the pure carbon of soot and this resists time and sunlight and even moisture. An even greater surprise than the durability of their ink is the lasting quality of their colors. Their red is a veritable triumph in this regard and consists of some reddish material mixed with a thick varnish or gummy substance which has preserved it not only from fading but also from sinking in and diffusing itself in the substance of the parchment. It is probable that as was the case with the Greeks who obtained their pigments in colors from the shell fish, the Irish obtained theirs from the same source. Venerable Bede speaking of the colors prepared in Britain under the influence of the Irish tradition calls particular attention to the brilliancy and permanence of the red. He suggests that the coasts of these western islands have "many kinds of shell fish such as mussels in which are often found excellent pearls of all colors red, purple,

violet and green, but mostly white." These pearls seem to have been ground up for the purpose of making the colors applied to the parchment of the old manuscripts. Perhaps this may be considered to be a better use to which to put pearls than the rather futile uses to which they are put today.

Venerable Bede adds in special reference to the red color

"there is also a great abundance of cockles of which the scarlet color is made; a most beautiful color, which never fades with the heat of the sun or the washing of the rain; but the older it is the more beautiful it becomes."

All these technical inventions were carried by the Irish monks in the course of their missionary labors to England and Scotland and the Continent and their writing methods continued to exercise an influence over all western Europe until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when, after the Crusades, Byzantine and Oriental influences made themselves felt. Their mode of preparing parchment was not so good as that in other places though the leaves for their most famous books were chosen with the nicest care. Fortunately the Irish parchment was much thicker than that of the French during the first half of the Middle Ages and this has led to the preservation of their volumes in spite of the vicissitudes to which they have been subjected. Some of this parchment is very finely polished. On the other hand a number of perforated leaves are to be found

under circumstances where it might have been expected that greater care would have been exercised in the selection of the skins so that it seems very probable that considerable sacrifices had to be made in order to secure the parchment and the monks found themselves compelled to use defective pieces at times.

The power of invention of the Irish of the olden time is very well illustrated by their use of pigments in the illumination of such manuscripts as the Book of Kells and others. One of the most striking features of the work is that these old time artists used materials that were of Irish origin and yet succeeded in accomplishing marvelously enduring results. Professor Hartley in his paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society, New Series, Vol. 4, already referred to, says: "As for the materials malachite, green in color, is found near Cork and Limerick; chrysocola, green to blue in color, is found in the county Cork; chrome haematite and ochres occur in the County Wicklow; of red haematite of an earthy nature such as is termed raddle, there is a plentiful supply in County Antrim. Orpiment and realgar must have been obtained from elsewhere and the purples were undoubtedly of artificial origin; it is probable they were brought from abroad and such colors were no doubt treasured as jewels." He is inclined to think that the reddish purple is either a finely ground glass the color of gold or a preparation like the "purple of Cassius" which is obtained from a solution of gold

by the action of a solution of tin. This was extremely costly. This purple is very enduring, though so are the pale blues and the lilacs in spite of the fact that these colors containing blue so often fade early in modern work. The Irish illuminator and his teacher had evidently quite exhausted the knowledge of pigments in relation to their tints and enduring qualities.

Wendell Phillips' well known lecture on "The Lost Arts" called attention to a number of inventions made in the olden time, lost subsequently and since not rediscovered in spite of their desirability and our pride in our success as inventors. The best illustration of one of these is the colorings of the Book of Kells. Our illuminators find it quite impossible as a rule to put colors on parchment that will endure in their original tints even for a hundred years much less a thousand. In spite of the investigation that has been devoted to it, there is as yet no absolute certainty as to the colors used, and the mode of preparation which gave them such wonderful durability is still a profound secret. Professor Hartley spent much time at the subject and gave his conclusions in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society, New Series, Vol. 4:

"A very careful examination of the work shows that the pigments mixed with gum, glue or gelatine are laid on somewhat thickly—there is no staining of the vellum and no mingling of tints. There is

however as was pointed out to me a painting of blue over a ground of green that is very effective."

After the Book of Kells, to paraphrase an expression of Professor Saintsbury of Edinburgh with regard to the great Latin hymn the *Dies Irae,* no artist could say that any effect of illumination was as far as color goes unattainable, though few could have hoped to equal it and perhaps no one except Giotto and Raphael has fully done so. This is the acknowledged masterpiece of book illumination. The secret of its unquestionable power lies in the fact that it is a decoration of the copy of the Scriptures to which a great artist lent all the power of his genius caring neither for time nor pains, ready to spend all his inventive talent in order to produce an overwhelming effect. He succeeded marvelously in accomplishing this because of the fortunate combination of a great subject worthy of the highest efforts of human artistry, worked out with surpassing effectiveness, with a great artist or perhaps a group of artists, though probably it would be better to say with a great artistic people just at the height of its genius for expression in art. As it is, it remains the most surprising monument of a time and people so often supposed to be lacking in the powers needed for its accomplishment.

CHAPTER IX

Irish Jewelry

AFTER learning that the Irish of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries had made what are literally the most beautiful books ever made, it is not surprising to learn that in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries they proceeded to manufacture some of the most beautiful jewelry that has ever come from the hand of man. Indeed this is, strange as it may seem, one of the most wonderful contributions of the Irish to the arts and crafts of the world. The same talent which applied to book making has left us the precious treasures that are still to be seen in the library of Trinity College and the British Museum and elsewhere, bequeathed to us also a corresponding precious legacy of Irish jewelry. Only that we have a large number of specimens of this work preserved for us, it would have been quite impossible to persuade the modern world that the Irish had ever made such beautiful jewelry. There are literally hundreds of beautiful pieces of the most delicate work in the precious metals and particularly of gold. The Irish were famous for the amount of gold in their possession among all the nations of western Europe but they used most of it for the making of the choicest artistic objects of many kinds. These show a workmanship in precious

metals far beyond what is to be found anywhere else in Europe not alone at that time but at any time.

P. W. Joyce the Irish historian has reminded us that there are in the National Museum of Dublin a dozen times the weight of all the ancient gold objects from England, Scotland and Wales that are to be seen in the British Museum. All this of Irish gold remains in spite of the fact that Ireland was invaded many times by the Northmen who sought particularly after gold objects because they were so precious in proportion to their weight that they made the carrying off of valuable booty comparatively easy.[16]

Ireland obtained this gold from her own territory and seems to have had some very definite veins of both gold and silver. These were probably limited in quantity yet represented much more than was to be found in the sister islands. It seems not at all unlikely however that some of the ancient sources of gold may be found again and may prove a valuable resource for modern Ireland.

A very curious custom that sprang up among the early Irish Christians procured for us a number of very strikingly artistic examples of their skill in metal work. This was their habit of enshrining the bells which the missionaries had used in the early days to summon their flock, the books of the Gospels which they brought with them or had made under their direction, and the pastoral staffs of the early apostolic missionaries in ornate metal work deco-

rated with precious stones. For instance the bell of St. Patrick which was merely two crude pieces of iron rudely riveted together and resembling nothing so much as a home-made cowbell of the modern time, was enclosed in what was called a shrine or jewelled precious metal case that is extremely beautiful. Fortunately these bells with their shrines were assigned to the care of certain families who took a great deal of pride and had a deep sense of responsibility as regards the trust imposed on them. As a result of this a great many of these shrines have been preserved and the modern generation has a chance to see how wonderfully the Irish of the ninth and tenth centuries could do work in the precious metals.*

The surprise is to find that these rude bells should have been so beautifully encased. It is a tribute to the loyalty and fidelity of the Irish people that these simple, homely objects that had become associated in their minds with the bringers to them of Christianity should be shrined until they were marvelously beautiful. This was the way they felt about them for "Beautiful are the steps that walk in the way of

* Miss Stokes says: "As we have shown in the case of St. Patrick's Bell, the fate of many of these curious relics has been bound up with that of the family in the present century descended from the hereditary keeper of the bell in the old monastery. Thus, the MacBeolans in Galway remained, till a few years ago, custodians of the Black Bell of St. Patrick, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; the MacGuirks of Tyrone were hereditary keepers of the Bell of Termon MacGuirk, now in the Dungannon Museum, which descended from Columba, the founder of the church; the McEnhills kept the iron bell of Drumraph, near Omagh; the Magoverans that of St. Mogue in Templeport, County Cavan; the O'Rorkes were keepers of the Bell of Fenagh, afterwards transported to Mohill; the Breslins, that of Conell of Iniscail, now in the British Museum; and the Keanes of the county of Clare were hereditary keepers of St. Senan's Bell in Scattery Island, called the Clogh Oir, or Golden Bell."

the Lord," and they wanted succeeding generations to appreciate properly their feelings of reverence for them. Miss Stokes has noted that these are peculiar to Ireland:

"Such covers or shrines for bells seem to be unknown in any other branch of the Christian Church. Six examples of these beautiful reliquaries are still in existence. Besides that from the county of Antrim, already mentioned, we have the shrine of St. Patrick's Bell in Armagh; the Barnaan Cualawn, or shrine of the Bell of St. Culanus, in Tipperary; that of St. Mura's Bell at Fahan in Donegal, that of the Bell of Conell Cael in Glencolumbkill, County Donegal, that of St. Mogue or Moedoc from Templeport in the county of Cavan, the Clogh Oir or Golden Bell of Senanus in Scattery Island at the mouth of the Shannon. We know of no other reliquaries of this exact nature outside of Ireland except the two in Scotland, described by Dr. Anderson in his work enitled 'Scotland in Early Christian Times'; the bell-shrine found near Kilmichael Glassary which he believes may date about the twelfth century, and may have belonged to St. Molua of Lismore in Ireland; and the bell-shrine of Guthrie in Forfarshire."

As is supremely fitting the finest of these shrines made for the bells of the old Irish saints and missionaries is the shrine of the bell of St. Patrick. This was made toward the end of the eleventh century by an Irish king and is of bronze plates to which gold filigree work and stones are riveted. The top of the shrine which is curved back to re-

ceive the handle of the bell is of sliver elaborately decorated. Diarmid Goffey declares it the most beautiful object of its kind in existence. He adds:

"It is clear from the succession of beautiful work executed from the eighth to the twelfth century, that there must have existed in Ireland during that period a school of workers in metal such as has seldom been equalled by any individual worker or guild before or since, and never excelled. The examples described are only the more famous of the remains of early Irish Christian art in metal, but they are surrounded by numerous examples of pins, brooches, and shrines, each worthy to rank with the finest productions of the metal worker. The Shrine of St. Moedoc (date uncertain) ought perhaps to be mentioned. On it are found several figures, including three nuns, men with books, sceptres, and swords, and a lifelike figure of a harper."

Besides these ecclesiastical objects however there are a large number of personal ornaments such as brooches, bracelets, rings, torques made of twisted ribbons of gold or silver and to be worn around the neck, other necklaces, crowns, minns or diadems, amulets, earrings and smaller pieces usually used in conjunction with these. Most of these were not made for private individuals but were to be worn by royalty and those closest to the throne or were to be employed in holding ecclesiastical garments together, or for the adornment of altars or in connection with the sacred vessels in religious services.

The most beautiful of these artistic creations in

the precious metals is very appropriately a chalice, the well known Chalice of Ardagh. It is very interesting to realize that this supreme triumph of creative art in precious metals and precious stones was dedicated to the service of the Most High in the sublime memorial service that Christ asked should be done in commemoration of Him. The legends connected with the Holy Grail and the sublimity of reverence evoked with regard to it, will make those who may not appreciate the Mass through faith understand something of the feelings that such devout believers as the old Irish were, had for the chalice. This one was made by a great artist craftsman with his heart and his soul in the work.

For this reason and because it is the outstanding piece of jewel and metal work, it seems worth while to give a detailed description of it as made by one who had studied it faithfully and assiduously and had the taste and knowledge to appreciate it properly. Only someone who had studied it very carefully and often and knows it on the background of familiarity with objects of more or less similar kind made at other places and other times, would have the right to express an opinion with regard to such a creation. Fortunately there is readily available a detailed description of the chalice written by Miss Margaret Stokes in her little volume "Early Christian Art in Ireland." This is one of the series of Art Handbooks made for the South Kensington Museum of London so as to help visitors to appreciate treasures of this kind and therefore to be de-

pended on as reliable and authoritative. Miss Stokes said:

"This Irish chalice combines classic beauty of form with the most exquisite examples of almost every variety of Celtic ornamentation. The cup is composed of the following metals: gold, silver, bronze, brass, copper and lead. The ornaments cut on the silver bowl consist of an inscription, interlaced patterns terminating in dogs' heads, and at the bottom a circular band of the Greek pattern. The mode of ornamentation is peculiar to this cup, being done with a chisel and hammer, as indicated by the lines being raised at each side, which could only be produced in the manner described. Round the cup runs a band composed of two semi-cylindrical rings of silver, ornamented with small annular dots punched out with a hollow punch. The space between the rings is filled by twelve plaques of gold repoussé work, with a very beautiful ornamentation of fine filigree wire-work wrought on the front of the repoussé ground, and carrying out, in its most delicate execution, the interlaced pattern associated with the art of this country. Between the plaques are twelve round enamelled beads.

"The handles of this chalice are composed of enamels (similar to those in the borders) and plaques of gold filigree work of the same style, but different in design. Each handle has four circular pieces of blue glass, underneath which the rivets are secured which fasten the handles to the bowl. Round the enamels was a circle of amber, divided into eight spaces by pieces of bronze, which has been eaten away. One of the enamels has a circle of

gold grains at the top, which has been pressed in while the glass was in fusion. The two circular ornaments on the side of the bowl are of gold filigree work of the very finest kind, with an enamelled boss in the centre; the frames which hold them are of silver. There are four settings at equal distances, which are receivers of the rivets that secure it to the bowl. In the settings were two pieces of blue glass (the same as in the handles), and two pieces of amber, which have fallen out.

"The stem and supports of the bowl are of bronze metal, gilt, beautifully carved in interlaced and knotted patterns. They are attached to the bowl by a bronze gilt ball, with a strong square tang, and most ingeniously fastened by an iron bolt, which secures all together.

"The foot is of silver, circular, with a framework on the outer rim, having eight spaces, which are filled alternately with gold and bronze gilt plaques of open work; behind them pieces of mica are inserted, which throw out more clearly the very beautiful pierced designs with which these plaques are ornamented. The intermediate spaces contain enamels (inferior to those in the upper part of the bowl), set in bronze.

"In the inside of the foot of the bowl is a circular crystal, round which there has been a circle of amber, divided into twelve tablets, with a bronze division between each tablet; surrounding this is a circle in gold filigree of the same style and workmanship as those already described. The next circle had tablets of amber, but they have all fallen out. In the space between this and the silver is a circular

bronze plate, highly carved and gilt, in which are fine enamels in green.

"The extreme outer edge, like the reverse side, is divided into eight spaces, in which are pieces somewhat similar to the gold plaques on the opposite side, with this difference, that six are in silver, and two in copper; two of the silver pieces are of the most beautiful plated wirework I have ever met with. Between those spaces are square pieces of blue glass, underneath which are ornamented pieces of wrought silver, which give them a brilliant appearance when in strong light. Between the circles which form the upper and under surfaces of the rim of the foot are plates of lead to secure and give weight to the whole. The enamels on the foot of the cup are of a coarse kind, the pattern being impressed in the glass, and the enamel melted into it. The number of pieces of which the cup is composed amounts to 354, including 20 rivets.

"The ornamental designs upon this cup belong to the Celtic School of Art, which, according to Dr. Petrie, reach its highest perfection as regards metalwork in this country in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of these designs there are about forty different varieties, all showing a freedom of inventive power and play of fancy only to be equalled by the work upon the so-called Tara brooch.

"There are two varieties of birds, with heads, necks, and legs elongated, and interlaced; and also animal forms interlaced. There are four dragons' heads, with sharp teeth which bear a strong resemblance to drawings of similar objects in the 'Book of Armagh'; also dogs, whose long protruding tongues form a knot above their heads.

"Besides these ornamental designs there are two pieces of plaited silver wire, bearing a strong resemblance to Trichinopoli work."

Next after this marvelously beautiful chalice in significance in the history of Irish art and indeed of world art comes what is known as the brooch of Tara. It is interesting to note that the second most beautiful object after the chalice fashioned with supreme art to hold, according to Irish belief, the precious Blood of the Lord, came this great jewel meant to decorate their king and mark their reverence for authority. Seumas McManus in his volume "The Story of the Irish Race" has described the brooch of Tara in the following words:

"Both the face of the brooch and the back are overlaid with beautiful patterns, wrought in an Irish filigree or formed by amber, glass and enamel. These patterns of which there are no less than seventy-six different kinds in this single article are wrought in such minute perfection that a powerful lens is needed to perceive and appreciate the wonderful perfection of detail. All of the many designs are in perfect harmony; and the beauty of the whole can only be realized by actual sight and study of the remarkable object itself."

The description of the Tara Brooch with its place in the history of such personal adornment is very well given by Father Power in his handbook on "Early Christian Art in Ireland." He says:

"Of non-ecclesiastical objects associated with the

Early Christian period, the best known is the Tara Brooch. This beautiful piece was found, not at Tara, as its name suggests, but near Drogheda. Its name it owes, presumably, to the regal character of its ornament. If the brooch was not found at Tara it deserves to have been! This superb example of the silversmith's art is of white bronze (*findruine*) as a basis, covered, in the usual way, with ornament of gold, silver, enamel, niello and glass. The face is divided into panels, in the Irish fashion. Bounding these are raised borders of a dark amber-coloured glass, edged with delicate lines of gold. A good magnifying glass is necessary for a detailed study of the design, which is composed in part of exceedingly fine gold wire, and partly of rich gilt carvings on the metal plate. There are large attached circular ornaments of sapphire and coloured glass, some of which have pieces of gold inset. Gold inset in glass is certainly a daring composition. The back of the Brooch is less rich than the front; it is for all that, a wonderful artistic conception. Spiral motives, laid on in gold, tell us that the period of the Brooch is early. Glass bosses, similar to those in front, have gold ornaments in their centres and fine lines of gold running through them. In all, the artist has used no fewer than seventy-six distinct varieties of design, every one of which has some peculiar fitness for its allotted position. Attached to the Brooch was a silver chain of Trichinopoli work which was intended to hold the pin in place. Altogether the Tara Brooch is a marvellous piece of ancient jewellers' work. Its raised borders, the rich contrast of colours, the variety of design, the extreme delicacy of execution,

and the subtle harmony of parts and material, all combine to make it an artistic triumph worthy of the best days of Crete. The perfection of the Tara Brooch has overshadowed the beauty of quite a large number of other ancient Brooches, its contemporaries of the Early Christian period."

Only very close study will enable anyone to appreciate the beauties of this Irish metal work. Diarmid Goffey in his article on Irish Metal Work in the volume on "The Glories of Ireland" condenses into a single paragraph a description of the Tara brooch that will perhaps serve to give some idea of its marvelous beauty to those who have not had the chance to see or study it close up. The brooch is about seven inches in diameter and the pin about fifteen inches long.

"It is made of bronze covered with the most elaborate interlaced ornament in gold. The fineness of the interlaced work may be compared with, and is quite equal to, that of the best illuminated manuscripts; the freedom of its execution is amazing. Besides panels of ribbon ornament, which include spirals, plaited work, human heads, and animal forms, the front of the brooch is decorated with enamel and settings of amber and colored glass. The back of the brooch is, as is often the case in Irish work, decorated in a bolder manner than the front, and the 'trumpet' pattern is there very marked. The head of the pin is also elaborately decorated. The minute and intricate style of the work is strikingly shown by the fact that, even after prolonged study, some patterns escaped notice and

have only lately been discovered. Further, each of the gold lines is made of tiny gold balls, so small as only to be seen by means of a magnifying glass."

So far from the brooch of Tara being unique there are a number of other brooches in the collection of Irish precious metal antiques and one of them, the Ardagh brooch, interesting because of its relationship to the chalice since the two probably belonged to the same part of the country, is almost as beautiful as the brooch of Tara. The size and material value of some of these brooches will probably be best appreciated from a description of the Dal Riada brooch which is some five inches long, slightly more than two inches in diameter and contains two and one-third ounces of pure gold. Each of these brooches as well as many others of the Irish collection deserve to be mentioned because they are all eminently individual. Every piece has peculiar beauties of its own and they have been the special study of experts. There is nothing that is more wonderful than the wealth of design which was lavished upon these pieces of jewelry. This has given each of them an individuality of its own. In our day there is a very definite tendency to make things alike, to have them resemble each other as nearly as possible. In ancient Ireland the idea seemed to be rather to have absolute individuality so that no two people would wear anything closely resembling those of others. There is a great economy of time and labor in repeating patterns but the distinctiveness vanishes and of course artistic quality

goes by the board. The quality of art when close copying is done is so low as to be scarcely worth while.

Over and over again those who have studied these interesting pieces of jewelry have wondered how the Irish craftsmen ever accomplished their work with the perfection that is so evident. The gold wire that is used for ornamental purposes is so finely drawn that the craftsmen in the modern time find it practically impossible to use pure gold wire in this way because when they try to solder it it melts in the midst of the necessary manipulations. Dr. Joyce the well known Irish historian says of some of the antique gorgets wrought in gold:

"They are so astonishingly fine and show such extraordinary skill of manipulation that it is difficult to understand how they could have been produced by moulds, hammers and punches. Yet there is no doubt that they must have been done in that way."

Professor Joyce quotes the authority of Sir William Wilde, the well known Irish ophthalmologist, better known perhaps as the father of William and Oscar Wilde and the husband of Speranza. He was an expert in Irish antiquities and he did not hesitate to say:

"It may safely be asserted that for both design and execution they (the collected jewels of medieval Ireland) are undoubtedly the most gorgeous and magnificent specimens of gold work discovered anywhere in the world."

It has been a rather difficult matter to trace the origin of this Irish art work. Miss Stokes in the well known and authoritative South Kensington Museum Handbook of Art on "Early Christian Art in Ireland," suggests that there was an art impulse which began in the southeastern part of Europe probably from Greek inspiration and swept over the continent northwestward finally settling in Ireland where it continued to be felt for a considerable period. She would trace the origin of it to Syria and Georgia and points out that the curious interlaced patterns so characteristic of Irish work and the knot work which is found almost nowhere else except in connection with Irish art may be found there and in some of the oldest churches in Lombardy. She is careful to insist however that even if this theory of origin for Irish art be correct, it does not take away from the essential originality of the Irish artisans since it was under the stress of this influence that they evolved the distinctively Irish art which is at once recognized as such anywhere in the world as soon as it is seen. The Irish artisans made the aesthetic impulse their own and developed it with a striking individuality which makes it a true national art.

Others, and among them particularly Dr. Ferdinand Keller, after long study of the subject came to the conclusion that the original art impulse which affected Ireland so strongly came from Egypt. His conclusion is based on the striking similarity of technique and the peculiarities of color of the

Egyptians in their decorative work. These conclusions were reached before the recent attempts to trace the origin of Maya art to Egypt. Striking similarities between Egyptian and Maya art have been traced and certain inevitable suggestions of relationship between Egyptian and Irish art. As to cross relationships in the group there are hints not too slight or distant to deserve consideration. The Stele of the Maya peoples have some interesting innuendoes of the sculptured work of the Irish and some of their stone monuments are strongly reminiscent of the sculptured stone crosses of Ireland. It is extremely difficult to trace any direct relationship between Egypt and the central portion of the American continent. It is comparatively easy however to point out the connections that exist between Egypt and Ireland so that the problem is a much simpler one.

Though they were the full extent of the continent of Europe away from one another the relations between Egypt and Ireland were not at all infrequent. The Irish were determined sailors who balked at nothing and the voyage particularly from the southern part of Ireland down along the Spanish coast and then through the Mediterranean was not looked upon as at all very difficult, much less impossible. As a matter of fact some of the Irishmen who took their Christianity very seriously having heard of the monks in Egypt went down to share their solitude. On the other hand some of the old Irish traditions carry evidence to the fact that Egyptian monks

visited Ireland. Keller urges that the Irish monasteries were built almost exactly like those of Egypt. The custom of the Egyptian hermits of living in caves was introduced into Ireland and for several centuries the Irish hermits almost rivalled the Egyptians in numbers. Many of the curious *motifs* of Egyptian art recur in Ireland and above all as Keller declares, the serpentine band found in the Irish art work on the manuscripts appears also in the very oldest Egyptian and Ethiopian manuscripts "with a similarity of color and combination truly astonishing."

Keller is unalterably of the opinion that Irish art work is very different from any other to be seen in the west of Europe. The spirit of the Irish work is not the spirit of the west but that of the east. Indeed he feels that this is quite foreign to other western aestheticism. He says:

"In all these ornaments there breathes a peculiar spirit foreign to the people of the west; in them is something mysterious which imparts to the eye a certain feeling of uneasiness and suspense which must have originated in the east and could not have possibly been the creation and the fancy which derived its nourishment and stimulus from natural objects so devoid of color and form as present themselves in northern Ireland and the rocky isles of western Scotland."

While thus tracing the origin of Irish art in both pen work and metal work to Egyptian sources Dr. Keller is lost in admiration over the beauty of the

Irish work and the marvelous fashion in which the Irish monks developed the basic impulse that came to them into a great characteristic national art, unequalled anywhere else at the time, and unrivalled in its results by any other nation except the Greeks, and that at the height of their intellectual powers as a people at the very summit of the glory of their triumphant fifth century before Christ.

It seems to be very clear now that a great many gold pieces of jewelry were carried off from Ireland by the Danes on their incursions into the island just at and after the time when they were made. They were looking particularly for gold and silver. Pieces made of these metals were not heavy to carry and were of very great value in their own country. They did not care for the artistic quality but for the precious metal of which they were made. All down the centuries there has been a very definite tendency to destroy gold objects of art which makes it unfortunate that many men devoted themselves to the making of such objects since they were in so great danger of being stolen and destroyed. It was the thief's best interest to do away with the artistry since that would always prove an easy means of bringing the theft home to him. Many a work of finest art was destroyed for this reason so that it is a wonder we have so many Irish pieces as are extant. Only that a very great many of them were made and in all parts of the country, so that some few of them were bound to be saved from the spoilers, no one in the modern time could be brought to believe

that the Irish one thousand years ago could have made any such beautiful objects. Fortunately too they were of many different kinds and doubtless some of the finest specimens of each of these kinds have been preserved for us. The perfection of the art however had reached such a high degree that it is more than possible that not a few of the very best pieces have disappeared in the vicissitudes of time and war during the nearly thousand years since their original creation. The most beautiful pieces were doubtless the best known and therefore the first and most sought by the spoilers.

CHAPTER X

The Round Tower and the High Cross

TWO great stone monuments particularly are thought of as typically characteristic of the Irish of the olden time and have come to be recognized as such all over the world,—the Round Tower and the High Cross. They demonstrate quite effectively that the sense of beauty which the Irish exhibited in the making of fine illuminations and of marvelously beautiful jewelry was not confined to the construction of smaller ornaments or the execution of colored decorations, but was extended also to everything else that they took in hand. The Round Tower and the High Cross as two special relics of old Irish life have always remained even during the time when other evidence for it had been eclipsed by invasion and political domination, the most striking testimony to the taste and the power of execution of the Irish in the old time.

Few monuments of history have collected so many legends around them as the Round Towers of Ireland. They have been attributed at various periods to distant pre-Christian times, to early Christian times, and to the Middle Ages. As Irish archaeology has advanced, one theory after another of the origin of the Round Towers has given way before further investigation and it is only in our genera-

tion that there has come to be anything like scholarly agreement as to their origin and purpose. Instead of being relics of a very old and almost barbarous civilization, they have proved as the result of intensive research to be very probably nothing more than conventional bell towers, with certain special features associated with them for the sake of safety in troubled times, that were built near the churches in the later medieval period.

It used to be the custom to attribute the Irish Round towers to the Danes. All that we know of the Danes in Ireland however shows them engaged in works of destruction, not construction. Occasionally in connection with the fortifications which they threw up the Danes built round towers but these were very different from genuine Irish Round Towers for they were short and squat, considerably larger in diameter than the true Round Towers and not tall and graceful with the conical cap which characterizes the work of the Gaels. There are other round towers in Ireland besides the genuine Irish Round Towers and these are not very different from those of the Danes. What is known as St. John's Castle in Limerick,—and it has actually been traced to his reign in the thirteenth century,—is probably the best known example of these. Anyone who has ever seen them will realize at once however that they have no relation of any kind to the veritable Irish Round Towers.

It seems reasonably clear now that one of the reasons why the Round Towers were attributed to

the Danes was that there was confusion in the minds of archaeologists between the Danes of history and the Danaans of Irish legendary lore, a confusion which led to a number of erroneous theories. As Father Power in his "Early Christian Ireland" says:

"During the eighteenth century it had become the fashion (and the tradition is not yet dead) to attribute to the Danes every antiquity of unknown origin or purpose. As Cromwell got credit for reducing to its present state every church and castle ruin in the country, so to the Danes was attributed the erection of Round Towers, raths, and monumental cairns. The Danaans, in Irish literature, are represented as renowned artificers and builders, experts in mechanics, metal-work and magic. To this Danaan people a later age ascribed the lioses and Towers, and, finally, all puzzling or mysterious ancient remains. A still later and more ignorant age, mistook the Danaans for Danes and thus was sown the seed of the Danish legend, fiction or theory."

For a time the Round Towers were considered to be extremely ancient in origin, that is to date from long before the introduction of Christianity, some of them perhaps coming from even before the time of Christ and that they represented the towers of fire worshipers and were therefore of eastern origin. As the result of this instead of studying the towers themselves and their surroundings and noting just what they signified, there was an immense amount of time wasted over the study of various

Oriental documents. As a consequence Persian and Sanskrit or even Punic ideas were said to be the origins of the Towers. For a time it was considered to be a great discovery that connected the Carthaginian wanderings out of the Mediterranean Sea to the Irish coast with the erection of these Towers in the days when the Carthaginians disputed with the Romans the mastery of the world. The accumulated lore of the Round Towers in such theories is very great.

A great many people still are inclined to the opinion that the origin of the round towers in Ireland is sunk in an impenetrable mystery and they are supposed to have been built before Christian times and to have been connected with fire worship or other fantastic religious purposes. It is now well known that most of them were built in the tenth and eleventh centuries in connection with Christian churches as a rule. They exhibit a perfection of masonry unexcelled even at the present day and this accounts for the magnificent state of preservation in which so many of them are in spite of the vicissitudes of time, the persecution of the ancient faith, the destruction of the church buildings with which very often they were associated, and the utter neglect of the old time. The Irish word for round tower is *cloigtheach* which means a "bell house" or a "bell tower," so that if the archeologists of the generation before ours as has been very well said had been possessed of even a very rudimentary knowledge of the Gaelic tongue they could have solved the mystery of the round

towers at once or rather there never would have been any mystery. The towers were erected in Christian times to fulfill the purposes indicated by their name, to add to the beauty of the church to which they were attached and to serve as watch towers and places of security to which the sacred vessels could be borne during the Danish invasion. They were well adapted for this since there was no opening on the ground floor, that is within ten feet of the ground.

There are still some eighty of these Irish Round Towers in existence, more than a score of them in excellent preservation. They constitute the best possible enduring tribute to the thoroughness of the structural work of the early Irish masons and builders. They are found scattered over every part of the country and are thus the best possible evidence for the fact that the people of the whole island had reached the high standard of perfection so far as building is concerned, that is building gracefully and beautifully, but building for permanency, a thousand years ago.

After the Round Tower, the most important original construction of the Irish was the High Cross. This was a lofty cross from a dozen to a score or more feet in height made after the Irish fashion in the form of what is often called in the modern time the Celtic Cross. It was a compromise between the Greek and Latin cross, that is with a circular band of stone between the arms, the circle of the Greek cross placed upon the shafts of the

Latin. These were very beautiful in their lines and still more remarkable for their sculptured decoration and they have been imitated in modern cemeteries and make very striking monuments.

As fashioned originally by the Irish as memorials to their dead, these crosses probably originated from grave stones made in the form of a cross. At first they were placed in a lying position but afterwards raised up. In their development as large monuments they ceased to be merely grave memorials and became monuments usually of ecclesiastical significance. They were decorated with inscriptions and figures especially with various scenes from Scriptures which in the days when the generality of people could not read or write represented important lesson books in biblical lore and conveyed religious information and instruction that would otherwise not have been easy to give.

Father Power in his volume on "Early Christian Ireland" has described the figured crosses made by the old Irish in a way that renders it easy to understand the place they had as Scriptural lessons in the life of the people. He said:

"Though the subjects depicted are not very numerous many of them remain still unidentified. Some times the same subject is treated on a number of crosses. The fall of man, Daniel in the den of lions, the three young Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace and the adoration of the Magi, are favorite themes."

These are manifestly treated as symbols of Christian doctrines as well as lessons from Holy Writ. Always they are combined with other representations as Father Power says:

"In front of these there is very often—*always*, perhaps, in the figure Crosses—an effigy of Christ crucified and on the corresponding space at back a representation of the Last Judgment. In the centre of this latter scene is the Son of Man—a sceptre in one hand and a cross in the other. On the Tall Cross of Monasterboice, in a small panel beneath the Judgment seat, an angel is represented weighing a soul, while Satan, striving to lessen the weight of merit, presses with his foot against the scale upwards. In the Judgment scene on the Tall Cross and elsewhere we see the good on the right hand of the Judge and the bad on the left. Immediately to the Judge's left is the Prince of Hell with the three-pronged fork *à la* Neptune. In front again of this demon is a second holding an open book—the awful record of the damned. His right foot is raised in the act of administering a vigorous kick behind to the last individual of the hapless procession which he drives before him to the mouth of the abyss."

This description affords some idea of the amount of religious instruction that might be conveyed by these antique carvings on stone.

Crosses were erected in other countries notably those in the west of Europe not distant from Ireland and under the influence of the Irish tradition. These do not compare in artistic qualities with the Irish crosses. Miss Stokes in her volume on "Early

Christian Art in Ireland" does not hesitate to make a comparison between the crosses made in other countries and those of Ireland greatly to the advantage of the Irish sculptors. She goes so far as to say that the Manx, Welsh and some of the Scottish stones are so deficient in true artistic quality as compared with the work upon the sepulchral slabs of Clonmacnois and Durrow and other Christian cemeteries in Ireland as scarcely to deserve to be mentioned in the same breath. This is true in spite of the fact that archaelogical investigation makes it clear that art of this kind outside of Ireland belongs to much the same date as that seen in Ireland itself. It is in no essential element Irish however "and merely belongs to a style which overspread the three countries—Ireland, England and Scotland—in the ninth and tenth centuries and which attained a more beautiful result in Ireland because in the hands of men possessed of a fine artistic instinct."

These Irish crosses are really very striking examples of Irish power of achievement. It is no wonder that we have come to imitate them in the modern times and that when they are well erected in the graveyards of our day they form a most striking monument and one that invariably attracts attention. The sculptured scenes on the crosses have now all been transcribed and their significance deciphered to a great extent. It is true that they do not represent sculpture that would deserve to be compared with that of the Renaissance in Italy or even several centuries before that. When compared

however with the sculptured doorways of the very old churches in Italy of about the time corresponding to that at which the Irish crosses were erected, the Irish artists yield to no one in their power of expression even in the finish of their work. It is true that it is primitive art, but it is strong and valued art and it represents an artist's vision in the individual way that makes true art though his technique did not allow him as yet to express his ideas as perfectly as he would like to. After all it must not be forgotten that when the greatest of modern artists, the Frenchman François Millet, a man whose name critics declare deserves to be mentioned in the same breath with the great painters of the Renaissance, went down to Italy to study art he found the great examples of Renaissance art meant very little to him. On the other hand he was deeply affected by the primitives and felt that he had learned more from them than from other artists living or dead, and that they enabled him to realize what he must do in order to express his own ideas in his own way without being influenced by the greater technical excellence of more perfect art.

CHAPTER XI

St. Patrick

THERE is one man to whom more than any other all this literary and artistic development among the Irish in those early centuries of the Middle Ages when other nations were decadent, can be traced. This is the man since known in history as St. Patrick. The Irish for all the dozen centuries ever since his death have celebrated his fame and lifted up his name in heartiest acclaim as the years went round and brought the recurring 17th of March, the birthday of their patron saint. Theirs is no merely conventional homage of a grateful people intent on enthusiastically praising their national patron saint with some expectation that the very sublimity of their exaltation of him will reflect back some glory on themselves. Their tendency to hero worship has not carried them beyond all the bounds of reality as the people of other nations often think but has been founded on the firm basis of fact in the historical records that we have of St. Patrick's life. Its significance not only for the Irish themselves but also for the people of many other countries through the Irish missionary sons of St. Patrick's spirit who proved messengers of good tidings throughout western Europe, amply justifies all their enthusiastic homage.

Patrick deserves all the praise that has been accorded him and his works follow him in the gates not of death but of the after time in an immortality here on earth that will last as long as the Irish race continues to exist and cultural history endures. As the apostle of the Irish people Patrick provided the incentive that made the homeland of the Irish "the island of saints and of scholars." The faith and education that Patrick imparted to the Irish they transmitted to others until their influence was world-wide in the civilization of their time. "Good is eminently diffusive of itself," Aristotle said, and this has proved to be particularly true so far as the goodness of St. Patrick's heart and mind and soul was concerned. As a result of this Patrick must be recognized as one of the characters of history to whom the whole world is indebted and deeply so and to whom civilization owes so much that it can never quite hope to repay the debt. He was not a man who stood out in that unmarred perfection of character that grows tiresome because it is so impossibly faultless, but he was human enough in his faults to be eminently sympathetic toward others and the Irish needed such sympathy and responded to it in marvelous fashion. Patrick knew them well and therefore was able to forge out of them a cultural implement that changed the face of the world.

For long it was disputed whether Patrick was born in Ireland itself or in France or Scotland. As for Homer, there was strenuous competition for the honor of having been his birthplace. It had ap-

parently been settled that he was born at Caer Briton in Strathclyde now called Dumbarton in Scotland, but recent investigations seem to make it clear that the Caer Briton of the saint's birthplace is probably in the neighborhood of Bristol, England. His *Confessio* which is now universally considered to be authentic points to this in the light of the latest research. He himself has given us the story of his early life in very concise form and has told of having been carried off from his father's house when he was scarcely more than a boy.

"I Patrick, sinner, most unlearn'd of all
The faithful, and of many most despised,
Had for my father Deacon Calphurn, son
Of Presbyter Potitus, of a place
Called Bannow of Tabernia, near whereto
He owned his country dwelling, and 'twas there
I suffered capture when then not full sixteen."

Patrick came of a well to do family of the official class in Britain, probably Roman in origin, with an abundant store of that vital energy that made the sons of that Italian peninsula at all times such a profound influence in the realm of the mind and the spirit. This accounts for the man such as he was better than any origin that national pride would have made for him. He was a descendant of those Roman conquerors of the world who made the Roman Empire with its dominion over all the civilized peoples of their time and framed the scaffolding which enabled the Christian Church to lift

up the edifice of modern civilization. Patrick's character and what he accomplished becomes much easier to understand in the light of the results of these recent investigations into his early life and its associations, as well as the family inheritance that was his.

Patrick had the advantage of all the educational influences organized in the Roman Britain of those days. He was captured at the age of sixteen as has been said by some raiders, a band of "Scots" from Ireland, and they sold him as a bondman to a landowner in the district now called Antrim. Such carryings off of children and even of adults and their sale into bondage continued to occur down almost to our own times for the Barbary pirates with whom the United States fought a naval war to protect its citizens maintained the practice. Patrick's apparently sad experience was really a blessing in disguise. His solitude brought to him an abiding sense of religion and all the meaning that it can have for and give to life. He had learned to admire profoundly and to love the Irish character while tending his flock of sheep on the mountain of Sleamish. He dreamt a dream, not literally, but a waking vision, of bringing these Irish people into the flock of Christ and set that as the ambition of his life. "There are men and classes of men that stand above the common herd;" said Robert Louis Stevenson, "the soldier, the sailor and the shepherd not infrequently." This shepherd proved the making of an apostle. After six years he made his escape and

under Divine guidance, as he distinctly describes it, he found a ship, was kindly treated by the captain and in spite of many delays and hardships, all borne with equanimity because he felt that now a great mission was before him, he reached home at last.

The next six to ten years he spent in making the studies necessary to fit him to be a priest so that he might return to Ireland as a minister of the Gospel. One of his tutors who influenced him deeply at this time was St. Cairnech of Cornwall who though much older than Patrick learned to think a very great deal of him and who accompanied him or perhaps followed him afterwards to Ireland. The *Memoirs of St. Cairnech* are preserved in the Cottonian library of the British Museum. They tell us that Cairnech had a deep influence over the Irish people in the province of Leinster so that churches and even cities were called after him. It is Patrick's connection with St. Cairnech that seems to make it clear that he was born in the southern and not the northern part of Britain.

Patrick had the advantage however of education also over in Gaul where the zeal for study at the beginning of the fifth century—and Patrick's years (405-493) run almost parallel with the century—was still ardent. He is said to have spent four years with Germanus at Auxerre. This foreign experience gave him a breadth of view and a familiarity with Church conditions that was very valuable for his after-life. It is probable even, that with letters from Germanus, Patrick went down to Rome

and was received by Pope Celestine. There is some doubt as to whether he was ordained to the priesthood by the pope, or perhaps even consecrated bishop by him, but there is strong evidence that Celestine sent him with his blessing on the Irish mission.

While St. Patrick is beyond doubt or cavil the apostle of Ireland to whom the Irish owe their faith in Christianity and the development of civilization that came with it, there is now no longer any doubt that there had been in existence small and scattered communities of Christians in Ireland for some two centuries before the landing of St. Patrick on his apostolic mission. From inscriptions and well authenticated traditions, modern scholars have been forced to the conclusion that St. Declan of Ardmore and others had established their small communities in certain parts of Ireland probably even as early as the latter part of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries. In this regard something of a like change has come about as to the significance of Patrick's work as took place with regard to the missionary labors of St. Augustine in England. St. Austin as he is often called used to be thought of as the national apostle of England to whom the English owed their conversion to Christianity. St. Augustine's work is now known not to have extended beyond the region of Kent. The conversion of the larger part of England is due to the Irish monks who came over a generation after the landing of St. Augustine and who founded the great abbey of Lindisfarne from which as a centre

they sent missions not only to all the northern but also the midland portion of England. While there had been Christians in Ireland before St. Patrick, it was he who in the course of less than a single generation made the whole island Christian and initiated that chapter of history which made Ireland "the island of saints and of scholars."[17]

What Patrick made the Irish church is especially interesting. Mrs. Green has called attention particularly to the fact that in Ireland the Church was the subject of many fewer abuses than anywhere else in the world. It was the intermediary between God and the people and was not permitted to become a tool for various purposes political and otherwise in the hands of those who happened to find themselves in ecclesiastical authority. Mrs. Green has deservedly high words of praise for it and says in conclusion:

"Finally the Irish church never became as in other lands the servant, or the adjunct, or the master of the State. It was the companion of the people, the heart of the nation. To its honor it never served as an instrument of political domination and it never was degraded from first to last by war of religion."

A typical illustration of the large hearted tolerance of the Irish Church is to be found in the history of witchcraft in Ireland in contrast with the sad chapters in that regard in the histories of other nations. The Irish people probably believed more heartily in witches, in fairies and other spiritistic

manifestations and visitations from another world than this, than any other nation in Europe, and yet they are the one people who for 500 years never stained their hands with the blood of a witch or a wizard. When in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all of Europe suffered from that awful delusion as to the significance of witchcraft and literally thousands of people were put to death, Ireland alone of the nations remained untouched by this popular psychic epidemic and there are no records even of serious persecutions of witches much less of putting them to death until our own day.

Very probably the best testimony to the practical genius of St. Patrick is the revision of the ancient Irish law which by tradition has been attributed to him. That tradition has been demonstrated in recent years to be well substantiated. Miss Sophie Bryant in her volume on "Liberty, Order and Law under Native Irish Rule" has brought together the evidence which makes it very clear that Patrick was more responsible for this revision of the Irish code of law than any other and is indeed responsible for this marvelous transformation of ancient Irish law into the great Christian code under which justice and order were preserved in Ireland. The four masters say in their annals:*

"In the age of Christ 438—the tenth year of (King) Laeghaire—the *Senchus* and *Feinechus* of Ireland [that is the two great basic sources of Irish law] were purified and written. The *Senchus Mor,*

*"Annals of the Four Masters," vol. 1, page 3.

the great Irish Christian charter of law, was composed during the three years 438-441."

As Miss Bryant calls to attention:

"On the continent of Europe, a similar transformation had been taking place, in respect of the great body of the Roman Civil Law. In the century which had elapsed between Constantine and Theodosius the Younger, the Christian emperors had, to some extent, changed the laws of their Pagan predecessors, and given all the force of their authority to establish the Christian religion throughout the Empire. But the great body of the Civil Law of Rome, resting on the perpetual edict of the Emperor Hadrian, still regulated the forms of procedure of the courts and all the ordinary transactions of life.

"In 435, however, the Emperor Theodosius ordered that the constitutions from the time of Constantine to his own time should be collected, and this collection—ever since known as the Theodosian Code—received the imperial sanction in 438. It was published without delay, and adopted in both the Eastern and Western Empires, the earlier codes from the time of Hadrian being, however, still recognized as of authority in the tribunals, so far as they were not modified by subsequent enactments."[18]

Other writers have also emphasized this contemporaneousness of Irish work on the code with that of Theodosius. This places Patrick among the great law givers. Dr. Neilson Hancock in the editorial preface to the *Senchus Mor* comments on the fact that:

"News of the success of the Christian bishops in securing the requisite modifications of Pagan Law, by means of the imperial authority of Theodosius at Constantinople and Valentinian at Rome, would spread rapidly to Christian missionaries throughout the world. St. Patrick would have been certain to hear of this great reform in Roman Law—this great triumph of the Christian Church. 'He would naturally be influenced, respecting the work in which he was engaged, by so remarkable a precedent. Obviously, he could facilitate the conversion of the Irish, and strengthen the church he was founding, by recognition of all that was good in the Pagan Laws of Ireland, and by insisting only on such modifications and adaptations as Christian morality and Christian doctrine rendered indispensable'; and such is precisely the course which St. Patrick, in the introduction to the *Senchus Mor,* is described as having pursued."

The committee which had in hand the revision of the ancient Irish law was made up in characteristic Irish fashion. It consisted of three poets, three saints and three kings. The poets were chosen because they were thought to have an intuition as to the real meaning of life as well as profound wisdom in all that concerns the manners and customs of the Gael—"the law of nature" as they called it which had been revealed to the wise men of Erin in the past. The saints represented all that new and wonderful fund of spiritual wisdom expressed by the Christian revelation and which modified the ways of men toward one another more profoundly than

anything else had ever done in the whole history of humanity. The kings were there as representing authority but also conservatism so that the changes made might be such as could be properly enforced by the ruling authorities. This legal commission so unusually constituted succeeded beyond all question in making a very wonderful set of laws.

As to the success of this revision of the ancient Irish laws, perhaps the best tributes that we have are the concluding words of the preface to the second volume written by the editors of the Ancient Laws of Ireland in which they quote the tribute paid to that revision by one least likely to give such praise unless it was quite literally forced from him.

"But if we are to judge of the Irish laws on the whole and see how far they were adapted to attain that which jurists assert to be the great object of all law, viz. not merely to settle disputes as they arise, but to infuse into the hearts of the people a love of justice, we shall find that the great lawyer who was most influential in the final overthrow of the Irish laws, and who has freely critized their provisions, has himself furnished the strongest testimony to the extensive and beneficial effect of the ancient laws and judicial system of Ireland upon the character of the Irish race, in those remarkable words with which he concludes his *Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under Obedience to the Crown of England until the beginning of His Majesty's (King James the First) Happy Reign.* 'There is,' says Sir John Davies, 'no nation of people under the sun

that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law when upon just cause they do desire it.' "

The revision of these ancient Irish laws preserved much of what was old and modified only what was absolutely necessary. The conservative spirit of the Irish themselves and above all of St. Patrick and his immediate successors is very well illustrated in the way in which the great Irish sagas have come down to us so almost completely unchanged. The fact that the ancient Irish laws were left similarly undisturbed to a very great extent has made them a valuable monument and a wonderful document for the study of customs, laws and language of the older time among a people who remained to such a supreme extent unmingled with other nations. Dr. W. K. Sullivan in his Introduction to Dr. O'Curry's Lectures on "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish" says in this regard:

"Though it were true, therefore, that in ancient times Ireland was an isolated corner of the earth, whose inhabitants were no better than savages, still the study of the ancient language of the people, and such historical traditions and legends of them as may have survived, would be valuable. But the ancient language, laws, and traditions of Ireland are, in truth, among the most valuable—nay, indispensable—materials for the solution of the problem

above stated. The Romans, Celts, and Germans have so commingled with each other on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain, that it is almost impossible to say what is peculiar to each and what borrowed. The fully developed judicial, fiscal, and administrative systems of the Romans have, as might have been expected, deeply modified the political and social organization of the Gauls, Britons, and Germans. The only branch of the Celtic race not directly in contact with this highly developed political organization was the Irish. That Ireland was not entirely unaffected by Roman civilization, and even by the earlier civilization of other Mediterranean nations in pre-Christian times, is undoubtedly true. But that influence was not such as could deeply modify the laws or customs of the people; and hence in them we ought to find a precious mine of information regarding the political and social organization of Europe before the rise of the Roman power. Fortunately we possess in the remains of the Irish language, poetry, laws, etc., such a mine, and in greater fullness, too, than is found in other branches of the Aryan race, except the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin."

In a word the Irish because of their independence politically especially as regards the Roman empire and their sufficiency for themselves and originality in literature, art and law, as the remains that have come down to us attest, deserve a place beside the three great races of ancient times. The preservation of all that is best among the old Irish is due more to St. Patrick than to anyone else. This is

particularly true as regards law as we have shown in this chapter but Patrick's appreciation of all the products of Irish genius in art, literature and music is a striking testimony to the breadth of mind and sympathy of the man as well as his aesthetic taste.

It would very probably be expected that a mind capable of taking a great code of law and modifying it so as to make it the uplifting element of a nation's history for more than a thousand years, would share very little in aesthetic talents. Ordinarily the closely reasoning mind of the lawyer or the scientist lacks by compensation the appreciation of the artistic and has to be content with an intellectual development without that appreciation of things of beauty that are joys forever which add so much to the value of life. We have had some striking examples of this one-sidedness of intellect in the modern time and such men as Herbert Spencer and Darwin have confessed that they had lost their appreciation for literature and art and music. Patrick seems to have had no such limitation however. While his revision of the ancient Irish code gives him a place among the great lawmakers of all time, there are very definite traditions which connect him with the beginnings of that great movement in Ireland which issued in the creation of rhyme in poetry and the making of the most beautiful books and the most beautiful jewelry in the world. This constitutes a tribute to the genius of the man that can be readily understood for only very rarely among mankind is this breadth of sympathy and taste remarked.

The relationship of St. Patrick to the Book of Kells and to all the beautiful Irish manuscripts is very interesting. Manifestly for him life was a cult of beauty and beauty quite literally a joy forever. We hear of St. Bridget's brazier who became the first bishop of Kildare, that is a worker in brass so devoutly artistic that he was considered worthy to be raised to the episcopacy, but there is a corresponding tradition with regard to the holy bishop of Assicus who is called Patrick's worker in brass. We are told that he was accustomed to make altars and book caskets and bell shrines that delighted the heart of the Irish apostle. With regard to writing, tradition tells us that St. Patrick "used himself to write 'alphabets' for young men who were chosen for a clerical career." It is here that his immediate connection with the Book of Kells becomes apparent; and it is to him, helped by the artistic taste of the schools of Irish penmanship that came after his date, that we are indebted for the striking and always graceful handwriting which is so typical a characteristic of all the early manuscripts of Ireland, and not least of the earliest, the Gospels of Colum Cille. The most remarkable feature of this fine type of writing is that, excepting the fact that it developed in Ireland, there is nothing whatever Irish about it. The models employed for the individual letters were purely Roman—the half-uncial forms largely used at the time in Franco-Lombardic and other such manuscripts of Western

Europe. But, as Sir Edward M. Thompson tells us in his "Greek and Latin Palæography":

"Having once obtained their models, the Irish scribes developed their own style of writing and went on practising it, generation after generation, with astonishing uniformity. The English conquest did not disturb their even course. The invaders concerned themselves not with the language and literature of the country. They were content to use their own style of writing for grants of land and other official deeds; but they left it to the Irish scribes to produce manuscripts in the native characters."

Sir Edward Sullivan's summary of St. Patrick's work is probably the most condensed account of his life and labors that we have in accord with the most recent historical researches.

"St. Patrick too often has been described as being a single pioneer of Christianity. He was in reality, as we now know, attended by a large and well-equipped company of earnest workers, carrying with them no small quantity of literary material. If we can accept the Book of Armagh as an authority to be relied on, the missionary party that accompanied St. Patrick included some artists. The holy Bishop Assicus was one of them—and is described as Patrick's worker in brass, who was wont to make altars and book-caskets. The same authority tells us that Patrick carried with him to the other side of the Shannon a large number of bells, patens, chalices, altars, law-books and Gospels for use in the churches founded there. Next after his conver-

sion of the Irish Kings, Druids and people, the Saint's greatest achievement was the introduction of the Latin tongue and his making it the ecclesiastical language of Ireland."

Aubrey de Vere in the Preface to his book of poems with the title, "The Legend of St. Patrick," has perhaps summed up better for the men of our time than was ever done before or since the character of St. Patrick. As Aubrey de Vere was the close friend of a great many of the well known Englishmen of his day, thoroughly respected by such men on the one hand as Wordsworth to whom this volume is dedicated, and many of the distinguished scholars of his time with whom he was on terms of intimacy, it is easy to understand that he represents the modern mind in its judgment of a great man of the past better than almost any other. A poet himself of high rank, a convert to Catholicity, a man of profound learning and education, his judgment could scarcely be surpassed. He said:

"Perhaps nothing human had so large an influence in the conversion of the Irish as the personal character of her Apostle. Where others, as Palladius, had failed, he succeeded. By nature, by grace, and by providential training, he had been specially fitted for his task. We can still see plainly even the finer traits of that character, while the land of his birth is a matter of dispute, and of his early history we know little, except that he was of noble birth, that he was carried to Ireland by pirates at the age of sixteen, and that after five years of bondage he

escaped thence, to return A.D. 432, when about forty-five years old; belonging thus to that great age of the Church which was made illustrious by the most eminent of its Fathers, and tasked by the most critical of its trials. In him a great character had been built on the foundations of a devout childhood, and of a youth ennobled by adversity. Everywhere we trace the might and the sweetness which belonged to it, the versatile mind yet the simple heart, the varying tact yet the fixed resolve, the large design taking counsel for all, yet the minute solicitude for each, the fiery zeal yet the genial temper, the skill in using means yet the reliance on God alone, the readiness in action with the willingness to wait, the habitual self-possession yet the outbursts of an inspiration which raised him above himself, the abiding consciousness of authority—an authority in him, but not of him—and yet the ever-present humility. Above all, there burned in him that boundless love, which seems the main constituent of the Apostolic character. It was love for God; but it was love for man also, an impassioned love, and a parental compassion. It was not for the spiritual weal alone of man that he thirsted. Wrong and injustice to the poor he resented as an injury to God. His vehement love for the poor is illustrated by his 'Epistle to Coroticus' reproaching him with his cruelty, as well as by his denunciation of slavery, which piracy had introduced into parts of Ireland. No wonder that such a character should have exercised a talismanic power over the ardent and sensitive race among whom he laboured, a race 'easy to be drawn, but impossible to be driven,' and drawn more by sympathy than even by benefits. That char-

acter can only be understood by one who studies, and in a right spirit, that account of his life which he bequeathed to us shortly before its close—the 'Confession of Saint Patrick.' "

The ancient Irish Tripartite Life of Patrick has summed up his place among men for all time in a way that probably could not be equalled by any modern expression. There is nothing to do but quote it as the concise sum of Patrick's career:

"A righteous man, verily, was this man. With purity of nature, like the patriarchs. A true pilgrim like Abraham. Mild, forgiving from the heart, like Moses. A praiseworthy psalmist like David. A shrine of wisdom, like Solomon. A joyous vessel for proclaiming righteousness, like Paul the Apostle. A man full of the grace and the favour of the Holy Ghost, like John the child. A fair herbgarden with plants of virtues. A vine-branch with fruitfulness. A flashing fire with the fervour of the warming and heating of the sons of Life, for kindling and for inflaming charity. A lion for strength and might. A dove for gentleness and simplicity. A serpent for prudence and cunning as to good. Gentle, humble, merciful unto the sons of Life. Gloomy, ungentle to the sons of Death. A laborious and serviceable slave to Christ. A king for dignity and power as to binding and loosing, as to liberating and enslaving, as to killing and quickening life."

CHAPTER XII

The Breadth and Depth of Irish Education

THE greatest monument left by St. Patrick was the organization of education in Ireland for this Irish people whom he had learned to love as a slave among them and to whom he came back with the mission of Christianization. Apparently Patrick's whole influence as soon as the Irish became converted to Christianity was concentrated on the effort to make them understand just as far as was possible the reasons for the faith that was in them. He himself founded a great school at Armagh which attracted students from all over Ireland. Before long his disciples were also founding schools until Ireland became dotted with institutions of learning many of which afforded opportunities for education for hundreds of students. Scholarship was held in high honor and the Irish reverence for their bards or poets and for their historians which had existed from time immemorial was now extended also to these Christian scholars who devoted themselves to the cultivation of their intellects through scholarly Christian influence.

It is interesting above all to realize as we shall see in a subsequent chapter that the Irish were not exclusive in their provision of educational opportun-

ity and that all classes were free to take advantage of them provided only they displayed the talent. This was true moreover not only for the men but also the women. Bridget had the full sympathy and aid of St. Patrick in her effort to create for the women of Ireland such an institution of learning as Patrick himself had created at Armagh for the men. The place of the women in the social life of the time was such that this extension of educational privileges for them is not surprising though it is extremely difficult for most people in the modern time to think it possible for a woman 1500 years ago to have organized education for women.

What Patrick thus accomplished for education will always remain as one of the greatest demonstrations of his intelligence and of the breadth and sympathy of his character, and of his recognition of the real meaning of civilization. Civilization has been defined as "the process by which men come to think more of their minds and hearts and souls than they do of their bodies." Whenever men think more of their bodies, they are barbarians no matter how much of information or even of refinement they may possess. Patrick had the true idea of culture and he proceeded to diffuse it among the Irish just as far as he possessed the power to accomplish this great purpose. Seven centuries after his death his great foundation for education was still alive and still accomplishing wonderful results.

The first great Irish university, that of Armagh, which probably must be counted as of university

calibre before any other educational institution of the west, became the center of the educational world of its time. What it meant for education in Ireland can be readily perceived from Mrs. Green's account of it in her volume "The Irish Nationality."

"There was already the beginning of a university in the ancient school of Armagh lying on the famous hill where for long ages the royal tombs of the O'Neills had been preserved. 'The strong burh of Tara has died,' they said, 'while Armagh lives filled with learned champions.' It now rose to a great position. With its three thousand scholars, famous for its teachers, under its high-ollave Gorman who spent twenty-one years of study, from 1133 to 1154, in England and France, it became in fact the national university for the Irish race in Ireland and Scotland. It was appointed that every lector in any church in Ireland must take there a degree; and in 1169 the high-king Ruaidhri O'Conor gave the first annual grant to maintain a professor at Armagh 'for all the Irish and the Scots.' "

The two words are used because at this time the distinction between the two peoples was being recognized.

The prestige of Armagh was shared by many other monastic schools in the early days. Professor Zimmer in giving a formal estimate of the standard of learning in the monasteries of Ireland does not hesitate to proclaim his thoroughgoing recognition of their very definite efforts to provide an excellent education.

"The standard of learning was much higher (under St. Patrick in the fifth century in Ireland) than with Pope Gregory the Great and his followers (in the sixth century at Rome). It was derived without interruption from the learning of the fourth century from such men as Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine. Here also were to be found such specimens of classical literature as Virgil's works included among the ecclesiastical writings and an acquaintance with Greek authors as well, besides the opportunity of free access to the very first sources of Christianity."

No wonder that there is a very well authenticated tradition that that wise old monarch Charlemagne founder of modern European civilization surrounded himself with learned Irishmen. At his court they were accorded prominent stations of responsibility and were known as men incomparably skilled in human learning.

Alcuin proclaims reverently his respect "for the most learned masters of Ireland (*doctissimi magistri de Hibernia*) who effected such great progress in the Christian churches of England, Gaul and Italy." Alcuin himself seems to have learned much from the Irish monks and indeed to have spent some time in Ireland. Among the Irish authorities, such conservative writers even as Cardinal Moran and Archibishop Healy, there is some question whether Alcuin was not Irish born. Be that as it may there is no doubt at all that he appreciated very thoroughly

the wonderful work that the Irish monks had accomplished.

Bishop Turner in his articles in the Catholic University Bulletin (1907 Washington, D. C.) on "Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival of Learning" showed that a large number of Irish monastic scholars took part in the intellectual movement initiated by Charlemagne, which to some in the modern time has seeemed to deserve the name of a renaissance of learning. Charlemagne himself appreciated these Irish monks and scholars and helped them in every way in their great work of evangelizing his people and bringing to them not only Christianity but culture and the arts and the arts and crafts as well as that respect for the labor of the hand which the barbarians in contact with the Romans had learned to despise. One of these most important of the Irish teachers in Charlemagne's court was Josephus Scotus, Joseph the Scot, a name which at that time would mean of course, Joseph the Irishman.

Venerable Bede praises highly the liberality with which the Irish welcomed strangers to their land when they were in search of knowledge. If the foreigner came thirsting only for knowledge, then nothing was too good for him and they not only gave him his learning free but made provision for his support if he were at all willing to give himself to a reasonable amount of occupation.[19] In this the Irish were very like the Italians later in the history of education. For centuries in the Middlge Ages and the modern times whenever anybody wanted to get a

better education than he could get at home he went down to the peninsula. The Italians not only afforded him an education but very often gave him an opportunity to teach and without the slightest hint of national jealousy advanced him to some of their best teaching positions. Such men as Copernicus and Regiomontanus, Vesalius the father of anatomy, Harvey the Englishman, Kircher from Germany, Clavius also from Germany, Linacre the Englishman, all found this utter lack of chauvinism on the part of the Italians and came to think of Italy in the words of Linacre as their *alma mater studiorum* always to be remembered devotedly as their mother in spirit and in intelligence. Surely this was the attitude of mind of a great many people toward Ireland in the earlier Middle Ages.

There are Irish schools, the names of which are scarcely known beyond the narrow circle of specialist scholars in Irish matters which yet had a fame of their own that not only was diffused throughout Ireland but over most of the continent and even as far east as the southern part of Italy. Most scholars know the name of Cluain-Mac-Nois, now known as Clonmacnois in King's County, the name of which signifies "the retreat for the sons of the noble."

How few there are however, who know the name of Cluain-Ednech or "the Ivy Cave" which was situated near Mt. Bladen in Queen's County. This latter school was founded by Abbot Fintan, who was a polished scholar particularly noted for his skill in logic. Learned men came in crowds to the Ivy

Cave to have the benefit of Abbot Fintan's training in knowledge and in spirituality. One of his most celebrated scholars was Comgall. He became the founder of what was known as the Benchor School near the Bay of Carrickfergus. This school became famous practically all over the civilized world of that day. St. Bernard in his life of St. Malachi speaks of the swarms of saints who graduated from Benchor—using the word employed in Latin for bees *examina sanctorum*—and spread themselves like a flood into foreign lands. The most famous of the Benchor scholars was St. Columbanus, the founder of Luxeuil in Burgundy and of Bobbio in Italy. Augusta Theodosia Drane in her volume "Christian Schools and Scholars" says that the rule of St. Columbanus, that is the special mode of religious life, organized by him, spread over most of the European countries and promised at one time to rival even that of St. Benedict.

St. Bernard tells the story also of another of the Benchor scholars, Molua or Luanus as he is called by St. Bernard in Latin. The great Cistercian who knew the history and traditions of European monasticism very well says that Luanus founded at least a hundred monasteries. The brief sketch of his life that he gives includes also the consideration of that difficulty that must have been so constantly present where men were intent on both religion and study; lest one should suffer at the expense of the other, religion as the less worldly being the most likely to suffer of the two. Luanus had been a shepherd boy

and was keeping his flocks on the mountain side when Comgall met him and attracted by his brightness wrote out the alphabet for him on a slate and then taught him to read. He found him so talented and so eager to learn that he took him to Benchor with him and put him in the school.

Luanus was so intent on being learned that he prayed night and day that he might become a scholar. The good abbot was afraid that this zeal for learning might disturb his faith and above all his intense desire to be a saint. According to the story however one day the abbot saw the boy seated at the feet of an angel who was helping him with his work and encouraging him in his studies. Calling the young student to him the abbot said, "My child thou hast asked a perilous gift from God; many out of undue love of knowledge have made shipwreck of their souls." "My father," replied Luanus, with the gentlest and most taking humility, "if I learn to know God I shall never offend for those only offend him who know him not." "Go, my son," said the abbot, delighted with his answer, "remain firm in the faith and true science shall conduct thee on the road to heaven." In our own day someone asked Pasteur if his science did not disturb his faith and his reply was, "If I knew all that I would like to know I should have the faith of a Breton peasant, if I knew all there was to know I should have the faith of a Breton peasant woman." With more than 1200 years between them, the two replies have more in common than might well be supposed. No won-

der that with such scholarly representatives Benchor became famous throughout the world of that day and that St. Bernard talks of the swarms of scholars and saints who went forth from the school.

The best known and the greatest of these Irish monastery colleges was that of Iona founded by St. Columba. Columba having incurred the enmity of one of the Irish kings found his work for Christianity hampered and went over to Scotland to preach the faith to the northern Picts. According to a very old tradition he crossed the channel between Ireland and Scotland with twelve companions in a currach, or wicker boat covered with skins. King Conal of the Albanian Scots granted him the island of I, which bore such variant names as Hi and Ay, for the seat of his school and monastery. The place had been hitherto occupied by the Druids. Conal hoped thus to create a great centre for religion and education in Scotland and his purpose was accomplished to the fullest of his possible desires. Iona became a seat of learning that attracted men from all over Western Europe and became the mother of no less than 300 religious houses not only in the neighboring island but across the seas on the continent.

Its prestige has been renewed with the study of the old Gaelic traditions and history in recent years. Nearly 200 years ago however Dr. Samuel Johnson in his "Journal of a Voyage to the Hebrides" chronicled the fact that his piety grew warmer and he felt his heart stirred within him in admiration and

reverence for these old monks as he wandered amid the ruins of Iona. Many missionary colleges in many parts of the world have been established in the modern time, but surely none of them has ever accomplished more for the diffusion of the light of Christianity in distant parts than Iona. Distances were ever so much harder to compass in those days than in ours, yet the sons of Iona preached not only to the Scots in the Hebrides but also extended their missionary labors to far flung Iceland. They went down into England and founded Lindisfarne and from there brought about the real conversion of England. St. Austin (or Augustine) sent by Pope Gregory is sometimes spoken of as the apostle of England but as we have said elsewhere he really was only the apostle of Kent. It is through the Irish monks from Lindisfarne and Iona that the conversion of England took place. From Iona or I-Colum-Kill as it was called by the Irish, the missionaries went forth in what were literally flocks. "From there as from a nest," says Odonellus playing on the Latin name of the founder, for Columba means dove, "these sacred doves took their flight to every quarter."

Columba must have been a marvelously inspiring master. The traditions that we have of him show him leading his monks in everything and asking no one to do what he would not first do himself. He was one of those tireless men whose work seems to be the very breath of life to them. They are never

happy unless occupied in some way. Adamnán, his biographer, says of him:

"He suffered no space of time not even an hour to pass in which he was not employed either in prayer or reading or writing or manual work. And, so unweary was his labor both by day and night, that it seemed as if the weight of all his work must surely exceed the power of any one man."

What they studied at Iona constitutes an interesting demonstration of the breadth of monastic education at that time. Of course they devoted themselves very faithfully to the classical languages and especially to Greek and Hebrew as well as to Latin. Their avowed purpose in these studies was as we have said the illumination of the Scriptures. Columba himself was spoken of as " a man of three tongues." The practical use of Greek was very common among them and they were very proud of their scholarship in it. They were least of all however merely book men. According to traditions they devoted themselves also to law, for the old Brehon laws and the commentaries on them have been faithfully preserved for us as the result of these legal studies in the old Irish monasteries. But history and physic were also favorite studies. There was as we shall see in the chapter "Ancient Irish Medicine" a well known medical school in Ireland in the early Middle Ages and their medical traditions are most interesting.

To most people it would seem as though the educational interests of the Irish in the fifth and sixth centuries, isolated to a great extent from the main current of civilization in Europe by their position in the distant west, must have been so narrow that in spite of the enthusiasm of the time and the ardor of mind with which education was sought very little of genuine intellectual development could be achieved by them. The more deeply we have studied education in the modern times, especially in the light of the saddening experience derived from the elective system, the more we have come to realize that a few subjects well learned may be profoundly educational while a great many topics touched upon superficially with the purpose of acquiring a certain amount of information may mean very little for bringing about mental development. The old Latins themselves were wise in this regard and proclaimed *multum non multa,* "much and not many things," as the basic maxim for education.

Fortunately perhaps rather than by deliberate forethought, providentially they themselves would say, all the Irish studies converged around a single focus, the knowledge and elucidation of Scriptures. This centralization of interest is all the more surprising to most people because of certain widely prevalent traditions as to neglect or even deprecation of the study of Scriptures until the beginning of modern history. In order that the Bible might be more thoroughly understood and more completely appreciated, the Irish gave themselves whole-

heartedly to the deepest possible study of everything related to the Sacred Writings. In furthering this purpose they devoted themselves especially to the acquisition of the three ancient languages with which the Scriptures have been so deeply associated, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Almost needless to say a profound study of these would constitute education in the highest sense of the word. The fact that their studies had in themselves a fundamental unity because they were all chosen on account of their relations to Scriptures, was of itself a very happy circumstance.

Among the Greeks Homer's works constituted a similar centre of educational interest to that which was occupied by the Bible among the Irish. This was particularly true for the century before and during their most flourishing intellectual period. The fact that most of their education in Greece was focussed upon a great genius work of literature proved a magnificent advantage for mental development. The same thing was true in Ireland. After all the Bible is, merely from the standpoint of human literature, one of the supremely great literary works of the world, looked up to as such even by those who do not recognize its supernatural character. The Greek concentrated educational effort on Homer and the Irish on the Old and New Testament, and while it might be hard to say on mere human grounds which was the greater and better calculated to develop the many sided mind of man, there seems no doubt that for those who believed in the divine inspiration of

the Scriptures the Irish educational curriculum was likely to be more deeply influential in producing thorough development of mind.

No wonder that there was high praise for many of these Irish scholars. After knowing something of the training to which they were subjected one is not surprised to hear them described by a contemporary as *viros et in saecularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos,* "men incomparably erudite in both secular and sacred writings." Such an expression seems at best a pious exaggeration until the realities of their education are known.

The Irish love of Greek and their intense cultivation of it constitutes the greatest surprise for our time. It went so far as to deserve the expression that has been used of it that it was a form of obsession. For the Irish had a habit of Hellenizing their Latin; they liked nothing better than to put Greek idioms of various kinds into it. Occasionally they even went so far as to write their Latin missals in the Greek characters. Their love for Greek philosophy was as great as for the literature and they are said to have been the first to apply the subtleties of the Greek philosophy to Christian dogma. In this they were the precursors of the medieval schoolmen and John Scotus Erigena must be considered as the father of scholasticism. By this is not meant however the tendencies towards subtleties of dialectics which practically did away with thinking as scholasticism degenerated, but the beginning of that magnificent application of Aristotelian thought to Chris-

tian doctrines which in the hands of Anselm, Aquinas and Duns Scotus created a great new system of thinking. We have learned to appreciate this much better with the development of neo-scholasticism in the modern time. The work of such men as Cardinal Mercier in the evolution of scholastic thought has demonstrated how much of vitality there is in the old Greek modes of philosophy when properly supported by the adaptation to it of the knowledge that has been gained in modern times.

The Irish schools then with their courses in Latin, Greek and Hebrew in connection with Holy Scriptures, so far from being backward and inadequate or above all confused and indeterminate, were ever so much better than the curriculum of our schools because of the unity of their purpose and the seriousness of their aim and the thoroughness with which mental development was sought for the purpose of comprehending as far as possible the great mysteries of life rather than the filling up of memory with details of information which may mean very little for true education or the development of the power to think. They were intent on the meaning of life rather than merely how to live or above all on learning how to make a living. It is very hard for us to let ourselves be persuaded that education so long ago could possibly have fulfilled the purpose of training the mind better than ours but Huxley when as Lord Rector of Aberdeen University he made his formal address, called attention to the fact that the curriculum of the medieval universities

consisting of the old fashioned *trivium* and *quadrivium* was better calculated to develop the many sided mind of man than the curriculum of any modern university.[20]

These historical details with regard to the scholarship of the Irish and the prestige which they secured on the Continent and lent by their presence to various schools, are not founded merely on tradition but are well supported by documentary evidence. There is some excellent contemporary testimony to the state of affairs that has been pictured by Zimmer which he quotes in support of his statements. Hieric in his biography of St. Germanus, a bishop of Roman Gaul, a work that was finished in the year 876, takes occasion in his dedication of it to laud the emperor Charles the Bold as the patron of John Scotus Erigena and as a wise promotor of general literature and of philosophical studies. After citing the fact that the emperor even summoned Greeks to his court, he proceeds to the declaration:

"Need I remind Ireland that she sent troops of philosophers over land and sea to our distant shores, that her most learned sons offered their gifts of wisdom of their own free will in the service of our learned king, our Solomon."

John Scotus Erigena was particularly appreciated for his knowledge of Greek. As Zimmer says:

"The mere fact that a scholar was living in France in the middle of the ninth century who understood Greek and other general literatures well, was enough

of itself to evoke the idea that he must have enjoyed the privilege of Irish training."

This is a striking testimony to Irish culture and Scotus Erigena's Irish birth and education made assurance doubly sure as regards his scholarship and its thoroughness in those days.

Very probably the highest compliment that has been paid to the Irish for their influence upon the Germans in the matter of education and civilization as well as Christianity is that which is to be found in Zimmer. He said:

"In my opinion there were very few men who in the middle of the ninth century exerted such beneficent influence upon the German mind in the cultivation of the higher arts and sciences as Moengal and his companions."

Moengal who had accompanied his uncle Marcus, an Irish bishop, to Rome on his visit *ad limina,* was prevailed upon by the monks at St. Gall when he stopped with them on his trip to remain permanently. He seems to have enjoyed and taken the fullest advantage of a magnificent opportunity to secure breadth and depth of education through travel. As at the time Irishmen were the principal figures at most of the other well known schools, it is no wonder that the monks of St. Gall were anxious to secure one of these great teachers as the head of their institution. About this time, as Zimmer notes, John Scotus Erigena was directing the school at Paris, Sedulius Scotus was devoting himself to teaching in

the cathedral school at Liége, while Findan a third great Irish scholar, was similarly occupied at the monastery of Rheinau.

Zimmer is rather enthusiastic over the work done at St. Gall and bewails the fact that it was so seriously hampered and interfered with by various misfortunes. To know these is to wonder how so much has been preserved about it as there actually is for they were calculated to make the preservation of records extremely difficult. In the early tenth century the Magyars at the time of their disastrous incursion into the Rhine Valley captured and despoiled the monastery. About a century later the plague came to carry off a great many of the monks and as usual the best of them, for they were the ones who exposed themselves to the contagion of the disease in their solicitude for others while the slackers and skulkers were often able to escape the contagion. Zimmer said:

"It seems hardly necessary to accumulate any further testimony on the subject, after studying this long list of Irish scholars who labored in France under Charlemagne, his son and grandson, to implant on German soil a knowledge of Christian and secular science, emanating at that time from Ireland alone of the whole Western world, and establishing itself at so many different points: Clemens, Dicuil, and Johannes Scotus Erigena at the court school; Dungal at Pavia; Sedulius Scotus at Liége; Virgil at Salzburg; and Moengal at St. Gall."

Ekkehard, one of the well known chroniclers of

the time, writes enthusiastically of the "great prosperity of the monastery school under such favorable auspices." What Moengal, also known by the Latin form of his name as Marcellus, achieved at St. Gall can hardly be overrated. The three well known scholars whose names have given distinction to St. Gall at that time, Notker, Ratpert and Tuotilo, were all under his instruction and recalled very cordially in after life how much his inspiration and his depth of theological knowledge meant for them. Moengal is known however not only for his expertness in theology but also for his skill in music and particularly the teaching of it. He seems to have given special incentive to the copying of books, though it is said also that his presence at St. Gall had much to do with providing a very special impetus to original composition among the monks who were there at this time.

Irish predominance in the field of letters and scholarship continued down until the beginning of the thirteenth century. Even as late as the twelfth century the great Irish monastery of St. James of Ratisbon continued to plant monasteries throughout Germany in a way that spread Irish influence throughout western Europe. The breadth of that influence will be understood from the fact that a daughter monastery from Ratisbon was founded at Würzburg in 1134, another at Nuremburg in 1140, a third at Constance in 1142, that of St. George at Vienna in 1155, at Eichstadt in 1183, and that of St. Mary at Vienna in 1200. At the Lateran Council in

1215 it was thought better to consolidate these Irish monasteries and so twelve of them in various parts of the empire were formally placed under the authority of the mother house at Ratisbon. Besides those already mentioned then, the abbot of St. James of Ratisbon controlled Irish monasteries at Oels in Silesia, at Erfurt in Thuringia, at Eichstadt in Franconia, at Memmingen as well as at Constance in Swabia, and two or perhaps three monasteries at Vienna in Austria.

It would be very easy to think that the Irish confined their attention to the languages and to Scripture and that above all they neglected the study of anything like what we would call science. There is more than a little evidence however for their interest in the accumulation of scientific information. One of the most famous of the Irish scholars is Dicuil who lived in the second half of the eighth century and who is very properly hailed as an astronomer and geographer. He wrote a work on astronomy and a still more famous work *De mensura orbis terrae* which is a summary of geographical knowledge that gives concise information about various lands. In the nine sections of the book he treats of Europe, Asia, Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia, the five great rivers, a number of islands, the area of the earth's surface, the six highest mountains and the length and breadth of the Tyrrhennian Sea. This is not only a compilation of previously gathered information but Dicuil made it a point to secure reports from travelers who had journeyed along the

canal which was then still in existence between the Nile and the Red Sea and from clerics who had spent some time in the islands of the north of Europe. It is easy to understand why the book has been issued in a series of editions during the nineteenth century and that a considerable literature in French and German particularly, though also in English, has gathered around it.

Dicuil's volume on geography which was issued when he was at an advanced age represents the gleanings of information that he had obtained from his contemporaries, by direct word of mouth from the travelers of his day, and also by tradition. Almost inevitably he was led astray at times and yet it is surprising as more and more attention has been devoted to his book in recent years how much of praise there has been for his gathering of details as well as the exercise of a certain critical attitude toward them. Fate has not been as kind to him in this regard as to Herodotus but the cases are not so different from each other. Dicuil gives the first authentic information about the Faroe Islands which as Zimmer says had been visited by Irish hermits more than a hundred years before and were in the time of Dicuil forsaken on account of the incursions of Norman pirates. He mentions the fact of the Irish having escaped by means of sailboats which would seem to indicate that there was some rather free intercourse with the neighboring countries. Dicuil also presented the first reliable information in regard to Iceland, knowledge which he had obtained

thirty years before from Irish priests who remained on the island from February to August.

As Zimmer says:

"The truth of these accounts of Iceland given by Dicuil is proved in two ways: In the first place the tolerably exact statement as to the length and shortness of the days could only have been determined by a resident in the place; then from northern and independent sources we know that the first Norwegian settlers, who were of course pagans, found Christians there whom they called Papar and who left Irish books, croziers, bells and other things behind them when they went away."

This name Papar is said to have had some relationship to the word for pope, because it was the papal character of the Church which they established that represented its outstanding characteristic. In various forms this term crops up in the geography of the region. The islands on the southern coast of Iceland are called Papey, and Papey in the Orkneys and other places of similar names are supposed to derive their titles from this same fact.

So far from mere book learning representing the whole round of Irish education, it is very clear from the ancient Irish artistic remains that we have that the monks devoted themselves to the production of art of almost any and every kind and made the training of those with talent in this line one of the features of their educational work. We have already seen something of St. Patrick's interest in illuminated books and in the making of various artistic

objects in metal so that he had as one of his companions on his missionary journeys a man who was noted for his skill in metal work. We have also seen something of St. Patrick's encouragement of beautiful illumination. What was thus true of St. Patrick's interest in artistry of all kinds we shall see in a succeeding chapter to be true also of Bridget, Patrick's great contemporary and disciple who accomplished for the education of the women what Patrick himself accomplished for the men. Because of this combination of interest among the men and the women it becomes very clear that the Irish education of the early Christian times in Ireland included the teaching of the arts and crafts as well as knowledge from books and that the crafts were lifted up into a position where they became arts just as far as that was possible.

The Irish monks took an important part, and it must not be forgotten that they were the pioneers, in that intellectual reawakening that saved the classics for us but they did ever so much more. As Father Harrington said in an address delivered before the annual convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor (1926):

"When the empire fell the ancient learning of the classical period would have been lost and forgotten were it not for the monks of the west. Even men of the calibre of Professor Carver of Harvard are forced to admit 'that Europe and America owe whatever cultural learning they possess to those Catholic monks of an earlier day.' He states, 'that their

part in preserving ancient learning and civilizing the rude barbarians entitles them to the respect of all mankind.' The laboring monks of St. Columbanus and St. Benedict cleared the forest, drained the swamp, preserved the art of agriculture, 'did constructive work of the highest kind at a time when industry was all but submerged by the brutality and violence which then prevailed over the whole of Europe.' These Catholic monks were the men who humanized, dignified and sanctified labor. These were the founders of the twin democracies of labor and industry which flourished in Europe for a thousand years."

The monks devoted themselves also to the practical arts and they improved the customs and habits of husbandry and horticulture. These monastic gardeners were the original teachers of agriculture to the people who came to live around the monastery. They supplied the monastery tenants with the best seed and taught them how to grow them to the best advantage; they improved the stock of both plants and animals and regulated breeding. In a word all the knowledge that they themselves secured in their practice as farmers they transferred to the people on their lands or in the neighborhood. They made plowshares and other implements of farm labor, improving them by many ingenious devices and inventions and above all they taught the use of the forge. It is said that every Irish monk in the early days of his monastic life was required to learn the use of the forge by actual practice. All the Irish

rules of religious life required as did the rule of St. Benedict the spending of several hours at least every day in manual labor. This rule was made originally for health and the maintenance of vigor of body but at the same time it made the monks themselves better rounded men and more sympathetic with the laboring classes. Almost needless to say it constituted a very important part of education and we are learning in the modern time how valuable the training of eye and hand may be for the development of the mind.

This characteristic of the Irish monks that they combined manual labor and intellectual training is very striking. They felt that cultivation of the mind to the neglect of the body would surely bring disaster. They insisted therefore that men must have a certain amount of manual labor in which they would be interested. In the modern time we have introduced athletics for the same purpose. Athletics has become so preoccupying however, that of itself it is more than a successful rival to the interests of the mind. In another way we too have introduced labor in the shape of our technical schools but as they give an introduction to the making of money they have attracted so much attention to themselves as seriously to hamper the intellectual life of the universities. Boiler factories and machine shops on university grounds are not conducive to culture. The Irish seem to have had a happy medium between these two phases of interests, competitive athletics and money making technical training. Simple agri-

cultural occupation which helped to keep the body in good condition, supplied something of what was necessary for its support and yet at the same time was never a serious rival in interest to the intellectual life which must be paramount in the university if the institution is to be a success, was the Irish response to the problem of a healthy mind in a healthy body. The diversion of mind that comes with "watching things grow" was one of the best recreations that there can be, an excellent interruption of concentration of mind on book learning. Why should not something like it be thought of for the modern time?

Mrs. Green has told us how labor and learning went hand in hand.

"From the king's court nobles came rejoicing to change the brutalities of war for the plow, the forge hammer, the winnowing fan: waste places were reclaimed, the ports were crowded with boats and monasteries gave shelter to travelers."

In connection with their hospitality there was always work to be done and this manual labor represented the diversion from mental activities which proved so valuable for the health of the intellectual classes.

Strange as it may seem we shall note in the chapter on St. Bridget that she devoted herself also to the encouragement of agriculture in connection with her convent manifestly with the idea of making her monastic establishment a centre for the improvement of agricultural efforts. It was the custom in

those days for the lady of the manor to devote herself to certain household duties and she did not consider that the giving of hours to the domestic work of the house was beneath her dignity. This was particularly true as regards duties of various kinds in the dairy and we have some very interesting traditions of Bridget's occupation with such tasks in company with a group of young women of about her own station in society in her younger years. When her own foundation of a monastic establishment came she felt the need of certain manual labor for the health of her companions in religion and so she set an example in the matter that is very interesting. Nuns have always felt that domestic services of various kinds represented relaxations and diversions of mind from intellectual tasks and this earliest pioneer of monastic life for women faced this question very frankly and solved it with characteristic simplicity. Domestic duties may well take the place of athletic exercises when pursued properly and with definite personal interest and when the hours for them are not long enough to constitute drudgery.

CHAPTER XIII

Ancient Irish Medicine

ONE of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Irish people of the olden times is that which tells the story of their care for the ailing and gathers up the medical traditions of ancient Ireland which fortunately have been preserved for us though not in such detail as we would like to have them. These are very precious because they set forth a definite organization of care for those who are ill, that is for all in need of healing, quite apart from their social status, that is to be found nowhere else. They comprise certain features of care for fellow human beings when ill that we must come down to much later ages of history to find duplicated by other people. The Irish while easily prone to anger and quarreling without much provocation, were tender hearted and they believed in affording proper care to fellow mortals in suffering and provided the means for it.

Before the coming of Christianity there were no public hospitals in our sense of that term, to be found among the nations, even among those that are rightly considered to have been the leaders of civilization and human progress as it can be traced. Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Greece and even Rome, made no provision for the ailing poor as such. No

one considered himself his brother's keeper; practically it was every man for himself and the sooner a poor fellow who was ill finished the misery of existence by dying, the better it was for him and all connected with him. Of course there were certain medical traditions among the poor, mainly superstitions of one kind or another, and there were medicine men of various kinds who wandered from place to place pretending to have knowledge of disease and actually accumulating some information with regard to diagnosis and treatment from their experience with the ailing as they made their rounds. There was nothing like organized care for the ailing poor however and above all no place for them to find a refuge and nobody to help them, with anything like skill and patience.

It was not that they did not know how to create hospitals and above all it was not that the people of the olden time did not know enough about care for the ailing to make such institutions really valuable for humanity when stricken with illness. The old temple hospitals in Egypt were epoch making in the history of medicine and the priest physicians in them gathered information of diagnostic and therapeutic value that meant very much for the development of medicine as an art if not as a science and for the relief and consolation if not always the cure of suffering mankind.

They created a clinical study of cases in these hospitals but the hospitals were meant for those who could pay the temple fees and while we hear of the

well-to-do traveling from long distances to them the poor were not cared for in them. There were magnificent health resorts among the Greeks for the rich —for example those at Epidaurus and Cos, which rivalled even the most elaborate of our modern institutions of this kind. At Epidaurus they had a theatre seating four to five thousand, a stadium seating some 10,000, an amphitheatre for chariot races and other animal sports even larger, and their buildings were monumental. They believed thoroughly in diversion of mind for the ailing. Almost needless to say these were not for the poor. They were for those who could pay for the treatment. It was the lack of human feeling and therefore the absence of incentive to make sacrifices in order to provide relief for human suffering which has made it a startling historical truth that nowhere among the explorations of the cities of the older civilization are any traces of hospitals for the poor to be found.

It is true that both in Greece and Rome public institution for the care of wounded and sick soldiers and for injured and sick slaves were established. Though these were human beings, they belonged respectively to the state and to their masters much more than to themselves and for this reason there was a great deal of practical interest manifested in conserving their health and strength. Because it was extremely important to others that they be kept in good condition, special care was provided for them. It is indeed a sad reflection on the social limitations of a highly intellectual civilization to find that even

among the Greeks at the height of their development as a people there was no provision for public hospitals; though this is after all what might be expected knowing what we do of the Greek religion. Although the Greeks were probably the most highly intellectual people the world has ever known, their Olympic religion with its anthropomorphic mythology was absurd to the last degree. Their gods had all the human vices exaggerated and but few of the human virtues. John Boyle O'Reilly wrote in one of his poems "Prometheus—Christ":

> "Why is it Mystery? Oh, dumb darkness, why
> Have always men with loving hearts themselves,
> Made devils of their gods?"

Our man-made gods are always worse than the men who deify them. Man-made religion is always ridiculous. After the utter failure of the Greeks to make a religion for themselves—the wisest people that ever lived—it was clear that religion must be a divine revelation. Without divine religion, that is without the consciousness of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, there is no organization of care for the ailing poor.

To the historical rule of no hospitals in ancient time there were two noteworthy exceptions. Strange as it must ever appear, these two exceptions occurred at the two opposite confines of the civilized world, separated from each other by thousands of miles, at the very opposite poles of our humanity as we have come to know anything about it. One of these was

in India, the other in Ireland. It is not so surprising as it might otherwise be to find that there were hospitals in India when one knows that the old East Indians—that is, the Buddhists—who lived in what we call Hindustan, developed a magnificent surgery before the Christian era began, the most distinguished name on its annals being that of Charaka. These ancient hospitals in India cared not only for human beings, but also for animals.

At first glance this would seem to indicate the development to a very high degree of humane feeling and brotherly love, or as some prefer to call it in these modern times, social service. This first impression proves erroneous, however, as soon as we understand the temper of mind of the Buddhists and what these hospitals for human beings and animals meant. According to their belief in reincarnation, the Buddhists were convinced that men came back to life over and over again, to expiate their faults or to perfect their virtues, and spent successive lives under various forms on earth. This metempsychosis included also the animals. A dear friend might be reincarnated in the body of a slave on his next visit to earth, or even in the body of an animal. Anyone, after death, might find himself existing as some poor sick creature who needed help all his life, or as an animal. Here, then, was the reason for the hospitals. It was not brotherly love, but a refined selfishness, making provision against the possibilities of the future.

The other exception to the general rule of the

absence of hospitals among the nations in ancient times occurred in Ireland. When I wrote the article on Hospitals for the Catholic Encyclopedia, I called particular attention to the fact that one of the earliest hospitals on record was founded in Ireland 300 B. C. by Princess Macha. The Irish women always have had tender hearts—the tragedy of Irish history has ever been that they were too tender toward the men. This ancient hospital, called *Broin Bearg,* the House of Sorrow—the Irish have always been very frank in facing the realities of life and calling a spade a spade—was later taken over by the Red Branch Knights for their assemblies and still later served as a royal residence in Ulster until its destruction A. D. 332. These subsequent uses of it would seem to demonstrate that it must have been a rather spacious and well situated structure.

This exception of hospital provision for the poor in Ireland was undoubtedly due to the clan system of government under which the Irish were ruled. A man was not merely one of an immense number of citizens in the country, he was first of all a member of a particular clan and for that reason a person of more than individual importance. The clan made certain provisions for the welfare of its members and the hospital was among them. This tradition of hospitals continued all down the centuries in Ireland. There were special families of physicians and these were required by the old Brehon laws to have their houses so situated that they might be salubrious for those who needed their care. To

them all the wounded and ailing were brought. Even the chiefs of sects or tribes were as a rule brought to the physician's house to be healed. It should be noted that this is an anticipation of our modern practice, for even patients who come from the better-to-do classes now prefer to be treated in a hospital in case they feel that they are to be confined to bed for any length of time. Physicians' private hospitals are now very common.

When we recall how low hospitals had fallen in public esteem even as late as a generation ago, that is to say before the introduction of the trained nurse, this state of hospital affairs in Ireland in the ancient times was very interesting. Even fifty years ago it was considered almost a disgrace to have to go to a hospital in this country and only those who absolutely had to go because they had no relatives or near friends who would care for them, allowed themselves to be taken to them. No wonder the poor feared them, for conditions were so bad that nearly everybody who went into a hospital caught some infection or other before he got out to add to whatever he had to be treated for when he went in. A death rate of over fifty percent in the year was not unusual and in some hospitals it was actually worse than this. It becomes easy in the light of this to understand why the dread of hospitals has continued in the minds of many of the poor even down to our own time. The old traditions with regard to hospital conditions are hard to eradicate.

These houses of the physicians which constituted

the hospitals of the old days with provisions for the accommodation of patients, were according to specific directions, laid down in the old Brehon laws, to be built on the bank of a running stream or with such a stream passing through the precincts of the house. The building was to be provided with four doors at the four principal points of the compass, one door to be left open at all times according to the direction of the prevailing wind of the day. The old Irish believed thoroughly in ventilation and the door of their cabins as a ventilator proved the salvation of the race as they grew poorer and were crowded into their miserable hovels. When I was over in Ireland in 1913 I feared that some of the improvements made in housing by the Local Government Board and the Congested District Board might take away from the Irish the "half doors" which have come down to them from time immemorial. Irish windows were old-fashioned and could not easily be opened but the upper part of the half door was always ajar and usually swung full open during the day time. The Irish here in America when crowded into the slums of our cities have proved to be very susceptible to tuberculosis. In spite of their poverty and the very scanty diet which they had in Ireland, the disease was not severe among the Irish—though it has become so since, as a result of the return of a number of the immigrants from America after they had "gone into a decline" because of the unfortunate sanitary conditions in which they had lived in the crowded slums of American cities. They

wanted to go back "to die on the old sod" and Irish hospitality pitied and received them without realizing the danger. The old custom of the half open door saved the Irish at home more than anything else from the pulmonary tuberculosis to which they are now proven to be so susceptible.

Another reason for having at least one door in the house of a physician open at all times came from the legal obligation of having the physician's domicile an open house into which admittance for the injured or ailing might always be secured and besides every such house was considered a public institution and therefore must be open for inspection.

There were strict provisions in the old Brehon laws for securing an abundant supply of pure water close by the physician's house and cleanliness was considered an extremely important condition in the care of the sick and the wounded. According to tradition the physician's house was built near running water or on the bank of a stream. Water in various forms was freely employed for treatment. Hot compresses and hot water baths were particularly valued. The hot air bath was employed for the treatment of rheumatism then as now rather common in the damp climate of the sea surrounded island with its fog and its mild but changeable winters, with its rain nearly every day of the year and the resultant soggy conditions under foot that almost constantly existed. Shampooing was a favorite practice among the old Irish physicians and was considered by them to be efficient for clearing

the brain and consequently the intelligence as well as the head. Very probably the frequency of the practice of shampooing accounts for the magnificent heads of hair which the old Irish possessed if we can trust the pictures of them that have come down to us. It is particularly on the men that this wealth of hair can be noted.

There is probably another reason however for the luxuriance of the hair growth of the ancient Irish and that was that they despised a head covering of any kind and as a rule considered that nature had provided them with all the covering needed for their heads. It is well known now that the modern pronounced tendency to baldness which is increasing all the time and coming at ever younger years, is due to the hats that men insist on wearing and which are held on the head by drawing them tightly down over it, thus interfering with the flow of blood to the scalp which comes from outside and not within the skull, for the arteries are pressed firmly against the bones and the circulation sadly hampered.

The provision for nursing in these hospitals is especially interesting to us in the modern time because it anticipated one of the special features that we have introduced into medical education in comparatively recent years. Their hospital arrangement included at the same time the training of young men for the practice of medicine and therefore resembled in certain respects at least our system of clinical medical teaching for which we are so largely indebted to Osler, and our hospital or clini-

cal year of medical study which has done so much to put a proper culmination on the medical course. Every physician was expected to keep at least four medical students in his house and to teach them, the principal feature of that teaching being insistence on their observation of his methods of treatment.

There is nothing in the world, as we have come to realize in modern time, like a custom of this kind for making practical physicians—that is giving a good clinical knowledge of medicine. At the same time there is nothing so good for patients and the proper diagnosis and treatment of their ills than this because a physician is, as it were, on trial before these keen students who are gradually gaining experience in medicine, and he is consequently obliged to put forth his best efforts to show his skill. Everyone realizes that the most important element in the care of a patient is the assurance that he shall receive from his physician the attention that he deserves. Important points in a patient's case are missed oftener because a physician is so busy and has overlooked something, or because the special patient did not arouse his interest and he failed to catch the significance of certain symptoms, than from lack of knowledge. The presence with the physician while he is making his rounds of young minds intent on medical problems and alert to every sign, is the best possible safeguard against this indifference or neglect.

No wonder then that the old Irish physicians acquired a reputation which spread even beyond Ire-

land and has come down to us as a tradition of distinction in the history of medicine. The younger physicians were trained clinically, that is at the bedside—the only way that will make real physicians —and the older men were kept up to their best efforts by the presence of the young men near them.

The famous Irish School of Medicine in the nineteenth century the leaders of which were those ground-breaking clinicians Graves, Stokes, Corrigan, whose names are enshrined in the history of medicine in the titles of specific diseases described by them, owed their prestige to the maintenance of customs of clinical observations perpetuated from ancient Irish habits in this regard. Nothing escaped the observation of Graves, Stokes was the greatest follower of Laennec in the English speaking world, and where Laennec failed to recognize and differentiate heart lesions, Corrigan stepped in, though at the time he had only six beds for medical patients in the little Jervis Street hospital and he had to pay for the privilege of treating them when he could but ill afford to do so. As he said himself, he had to study his patients very faithfully in order to make it worth his while to continue to expend his time and money in the care of them.

The Irish suffered from the dampness of their climate and developed as might be expected various forms of rheumatism and the favorite prescription for these ailments was the medicated bath. A number of these are described in the old books. Besides

there are in various parts of Ireland remains sometimes almost complete of what were known as "sweating houses." These are constructed of flat stones laid without mortar and seem to be as old as the primitive buildings of this character throughout Ireland which usually are attributed to the time before Christ. These were so arranged that the patient could have a vapor bath or a hot air bath and seem to have proved very effective for the pains and aches and the chronic rheumatic conditions. Dr. Stokes translated an old treatise on materia medica from the old Irish and this shows what a large number of substances, plant and mineral, were tried in the hope that they would afford relief to patients suffering from various ills.[21] Almost as many different materials are to be found here as in the Ebers' Papyrus, that old document from Egypt which shows how earnest the early Egyptians were in efforts at medicine. The Irish seem to have understood however also that peace of mind was extremely important for the benefit of patients and so one of the oldest prescriptions was that "dogs and fools and female scolds" were to be kept away from sufferers.

The early Irish surgeons seem to have been daring in their efforts at helping humanity and yet at the same time conservative. Trephining the skull for tumor or for injury or for infection, is one of the oldest operations in the history of humanity. The Irish seem to have practised it very successfully

in ancient times and there is a tradition of an Irish prince who was wounded in the head and lost his memory as a consequence and who was relieved by a trephining operation which included the removal not only of a portion of the skull but also of some cerebral material. He is said to have lost his "organ of forgetting" through the operation and thus to have recovered his memory. There are definite old traditions also of the practice of the Caesarean operation especially in cases where women with child in the later part of their pregnancy were wounded fatally and their infants were thus saved.[22]

One of the most interesting phases of Irish law and one that is very little known is that known as "the law of sick maintenance." Under the Brehon law it was the custom that provision for "sick maintenance—including curative treatment, attendance and nourishing food—was required to be made for all who needed it." As Miss Bryant says in her volume on "Liberty, Order and Law under Native Irish Rule" (New York, 1923):

"The persons on whom the responsibility of providing it devolved were clearly defined in every case. It might be a man who had made himself responsible at law for the care by having, either with or without criminal intention, inflicted injury on another. It might be the 'next of kin' whose duty it was to take care of an orphan child or a sick imbecile of his

kindred for whose sick maintenance securities had to be given by him, or proper provision made."

The text of the law in this regard is very distinct:

"Everyone receives the value of his qualifications according to his dignity both as to doctor's fees, company and food and also in suitable cases, the compensation for maintenance. All grades of the territory have the same right under the law of sick maintenance."

In the *Book of Aicill* the problem of sick maintenance is discussed immediately after the enumeration of the scale of fines imposed on the aggressor for the various injuries inflicted by him. There was a definite principle of graduating the amount of the fine imposed in proportion to the degree of neglect suffered by the patient. The man who was responsible for sick maintenance had to give security for his fulfillment of his obligation. In case he did not perform what was required by law, the whole of the maintenance obligation fell upon the securities and could be sued for. Provision was also made that during the time while a man lay ill maintenance should be provided for his wife and children. This was true also as regards others who were dependent on him. In a word, the Irish laws were particularly shaped to secure individual rights and to see that human beings were not allowed to suffer as the result of the negligence of others. Where no one else was responsible the clan system of care for the ailing and injured asserted itself and provision was

made for the maintenance and treatment of the patient.

An extremely interesting feature in Irish medicine of the older time is the legislation regulating fees paid to physicians. These were graduated not according to the patients' ailments, but according to their ability to pay. For healing a king of some serious ailment requiring weeks or perhaps months of attendance, a physician had the right to a hundred cows. For healing a bishop—the good members of the hierarchy were not looked upon as *gratis* patients in those days—the leech was entitled to receive forty-two cows, and so downwards through various social classes to the "houseless, homeless man, the house boy or slave for whom the leech's fee was reduced to two cows."*

Manifestly they thoroughly appreciated the value of their services in those days, for I suppose that even the smallest fee, two cows and especially two Irish cows would be the equivalent of at least $100 and probably much more than that in our values.

Attention has been called recently to the fact that in the Code of Hammurabi in Babylonia about 2,200 B. C. there is corresponding legislation for the regulation of fees according to the rank of the patient. This represents the true professional idea —that a professional man shall regulate his charges

* This use of cattle to indicate pecuniary values may seem very strange and perhaps even a little barbarous to a good many people, but it will not if the etymology of that word pecuniary is once recalled. Pecunia in Latin means money or cash but originally it meant wealth or property of any kind and especially property in cattle. That is the meaning of the word *pecus* from which pecuniary is derived.

not according to the amount of labor or effort involved in his service—which is the standard of wages for the manual laborer—but according to the value of that service to his patient or his client. In Babylonia as in Ireland, though the two countries were separated by all the breadth of Europe and some of Asia, and the customs were separated by over 2,000 years, this thoroughgoing professional spirit obtained. The scale of fees was very nearly the same. For curing a relative of the royal family, a prince or a wealthy merchant, the physician in Babylonia was justified in charging about the equivalent of a year's wages to a working man; for healing a slave the charge could be only one-fifth or one-sixth that amount. Curiously enough in Babylonia too they were rather hard on quacks and charlatans and the physician was kept to his promise of healing.

The Brehon (Irish) laws are very interesting especially for us in the modern time in their exact distinction between the "lawful" and the "unlawful" physician. We might secure hints for the regulation and practice of medicine in our day when there are so many abuses due to the irregular practitioner of medicine from the old Irish laws. For instance the law declared:

"If an unlawful physician treat a joint or sinew without obtaining an indemnity against liability to damages and with a notice to the patient that he is not a regular physician, he is subject to a penalty with compensation to the patient."

The invoking of the principle of damages against the quack is very interesting.*

The laws against quacks as has been noted were even more drastic among the early Irish than they are among most of the civilized nations of the present day. The Irish recognized that it was extremely easy as a rule to deceive people who were ill and desperately seeking a cure for their ailment and would grasp at any straw or promise of hope held out to them in the thought to secure it. Anyone pretending to be a physician who took advantage of this susceptible state of mind to impose on his patients in Ireland was severely punished.

On the other hand the Irish physician was held responsible in law for his treatment of his patients. According to the very oldest code of Brehon law, if, for instance, a wound that a physician had healed broke down again within a certain time, he was obliged to refund the fees that he had collected for the cure and these were to be given to a better physician who might heal and keep the wound healed for the time prescribed by legal regulation. This was a year for a wound in the hand or arm, a year and three months for one on the leg, and three years for the perfect cure of a wound on the head. The man who inflicted a wound on another was bound to

* It is curious to realize that it is still the chronic pains and aches associated with joints and muscles (sinews) that go oftenest to the irregular physician for treatment and are cured by all sorts of absurd remedial measures that have no curative value. The chronic pains and aches and disabilities of mankind are still cured by magnets or electrical machines or by radio apparatus or by various modes of adjustment or by mental healing of one kind or another. It is above all the quackery that "cures" joint troubles of all kinds that needs regulation.

secure a physician's services for the wounded person and pay for the same until cure was effected.

The Irish thoroughly understood and appreciated how necessary it was for a physician to have time to pursue his studies. They felt that he ought to be to as great an extent as possible, independent of the necessity of practising so continually as to be deprived of the opportunity of keeping up with the progress in medicine that was going on round him. This is one of the evils of the present day practice of medicine that those who are interested in the maintenance of professional prestige are most concerned with. Those who know conditions in medicine best are frequently heard to urge busy practitioners of medicine to give up their practice for a time and take a sabbatic period during which they may catch up with the progress of medicine. In Ireland it was the custom for a tribe or clan to make a grant of land to their physician so that, in the words of the Brehon code, " he might be preserved from being disturbed by the cares and anxieties of life and enabled to devote himself not only to the work of his profession but also to the study of advance in it."

At least one of the very old schools founded in Ireland, one that in its time was a worthy contemporary of such great schools for academic education as Clonmacnois, Clonard, Cashel, Portumna and Armagh, was a medical school. It was as famous for its non-medical teaching as for its courses in medicine. The Irish were firmly persuaded that a

physician should have a solid foundation of learning before he took up his medical studies. This medical school was founded by a physician of great eminence whose skill is celebrated in the early Irish annals. In spite of traditions which declare that physicians are likely to be pretty far away from sanctity, he is known in history as St. Bracan. He was the son of Fin Loga and a disciple of St. Finian at Clonard. In our time it has been said that "where there are three physicians there are two atheists." That may be true for the rank and file of the profession but it is not true for the great representative scientific physicians. Some of our greatest medical scientists have been deeply religious men. In the old times in Ireland this seems to have been true and so there is the tradition of the saintly Irish physician who founded the school of Tuaim Brecain near the present town of Belturbet in the County Cavan. The excellent medical work done at this school secured for it a fame that has endured down the ages ever since. The tradition with regard to it seems thoroughly authentic and well founded.

Some of the old medical traditions of the Irish people are very interesting. Many of them have come down from generations among the people of the countryside from time immemorial and yet they are very suggestive and sometimes significant for modern medicine. Some of them manifestly represent the results of practical experience that is enduringly valuable. Along the seashore for instance the Irish had the habit of eating *dulse* or *dilse* or

dillisk as it is called. This is a species of seaweed, often of dark purplish color, that grew on the rocks along the seashore and that had a not unpleasant salty taste. We used to have it for sale in the drug stores but also even in the grocery stores of the Irish districts in this country. It is, I believe, a form of fungus that contains no nutritive qualities to any extent but represents food material that provides a certain amount of roughage and residue for the intestines. It was the equivalent for the Irish of bran and mushrooms and other foodstuffs that are now being recommended because they supply residual material that encourages intestinal peristalsis and thus lessens the necessity for taking laxatives.

The Irish always serve potatoes with the jackets on and anyone who has ever tasted real Irish potatoes, especially when freshly dug, knows that they deserve to be treated as a special separate course for they are extremely tasty. Not infrequently the skins of the potatoes also were eaten and this not so much because the Irish felt the need of the additional food material but because the skins were tasty and contained certain mineral salts which are important for nutrition. Their natural instinct led them to take the skins because this supplied elements for bodily nutrition that were needed and would not otherwise be obtained. The Irish also realized something of the value of producing an appetite when the diet was without variety and therefore not likely to be particularly palatable. We hear of "potatoes and point" as a joke, but unfortu-

nately for the poverty stricken people it was only too often a sad reality. They liked potatoes and fish as the rhyme with regard to "St. Patrick's day in the morning" emphasizes, but unfortunately in their poverty though they lived near the ocean and various fresh waters containing fish they were not allowed to secure it. They had to limit the amount of it that each might eat but they served it anyhow and the sight of it was appetizing and they pointed the potatoes at it and so potatoes and point represented a sort of variety to the monotonous potato diet.

The Irish had some habits of eating that we have now come to realize were very precious. They liked onions and gathered them in the spring time and gifted them with special salubrious qualities so that if one were to listen to some of the old Irish one would be tempted to think that onions or *innians* as they often called them—as did also the Elizabethans—represented a panacea for most of the ills to which flesh is heir. As a matter of fact with the discovery of the value of the vitamins in the human diet, we have come to appreciate much better just what onions represent. After the long winter they were the first green vegetables that appeared and contained an abundance of the living elements that are so precious for vital processes in the body. During the winter the Irish had lived on potatoes and salt meat of one kind or another with some stirabout and some milk. The fresh milk gave the children the vitamins they needed but the older

people lacked them to a great extent, hence when the onions began to grow in the spring time they represented a very valuable source of these vitalizing principles. No wonder that patients felt better after taking them and that onions secured such a reputation for the relief of all sorts of ills. The stimulus provided by such vegetables would mean a very great deal for making many of the physiological processes of the body do their work ever so much better than before.

The Irish had habits of eating certain vegetables raw that undoubtedly proved beneficial for them. Turnips were often eaten raw and I have heard my father tell that when he was a boy and went out herding cows a piece of black bread and a turnip constituted his lunch. Anyone who has never eaten raw turnip has missed one of the interesting experiences of life. Cabbage was often eaten raw and the "cabbage stump," that is the solid centre of the cabbage was looked upon as a great delicacy by the children. Even in this country we used to go down to the kitchen and plead with the cook to have the cabbage stump because it had a pleasant somewhat nutty flavor. Carrots were also eaten raw, at least from time to time, and while we may think of a piece of bread and a raw turnip or some cabbage as a very inadequate meal, anyone who will watch the stenographers of the modern time go in to one of the luncheonettes and ask for a lettuce sandwich will be able to note that the young women of the modern time has gone back to that old-fashioned

mode of eating. Physicians now insist that patients should eat something raw every day. Irish habits in the matter were the result of instinct and necessity rather than deliberate choice but they were such as to maintain vigor of health and strength.

The result of these habits was that the Irish had excellent teeth as a rule. My grandfather who died well past sixty went to his grave with all his teeth and had never suffered from a toothache. It would be extremely difficult to find examples of this kind among those who have been brought up in America. Quite needless to say grandfather did not use a toothbrush. He depended for the cleansing of his teeth entirely on his habits of eating. He ate a good many raw vegetables which required vigorous chewing and above all he ate bread that was not fresh but that was at least three days old and often was a week or more out of the oven. This vigorous chewing led to a free flow of saliva and that protected his teeth from microbic invasion while at the same time the coarse tough bread acted as a direct mechanical cleansing agent. The children of the Irish did not suffer from enlargements of tonsils and adenoid overgrowth because their vigorous chewing supplied the salivary secretion which is antiseptic and the activity of the mouth and throat protected the glandular tissues of the fauces from microbic invasion much better than the soft foods that are fed to children in the modern times. Their poverty and their instincts led to the formation of habits of eating that proved more healthy in the long run than the

more sophisticated dietary customs of the modern time.

The medieval and modern Irish undoubtedly owed not a little of their excellent constitution and their remarkable avoidance of inherited defects of both mind and body to their thoroughgoing submission to the practice of the Church in so far as concerns consanguineous marriages. The Church has always been very strict about the marriage of near relatives, but also Church laws have emphasized the desirability of the avoidance of consanguineous marriages even to the fourth degree. The Irish followed this precept very closely as a rule though there were many temptations to break it for there is a very definite clannishness among the Irish. Even in this country the older people were rather disturbed if a young man married a young Irish women from another part of the country than that from which his own family had come. There was a distinct tendency among them to limit marriages to people from the same county or at least to people from the same province. Under these circumstances it is easy to understand that there was constant danger of intermarriage within the forbidden degrees. Irish obedience to the Church regulations prevented this to the greatest possible extent.

It used to be thought that the main reason for the Church's prohibition of consanguineous marriages even to the fourth degree was the prevention of the moral dangers that are more or less inevitable since cousins associate rather intimately. Immoral-

ity may develop unless there is a definite taboo set up. Studies in heredity in recent years have shown however that there is an excellent physical reason for prohibiting the marriage of near relatives since such marriages are much more frequently followed by inherited defects of various kinds. For the census of 1910 Mr. Alexander Graham Bell provided the funds for a special study of the inheritance of blindness and deafness and the statistics showed that blind and deaf children occurred some four times as frequently in the families of parents who were near relatives than in those who were not related. The Irish observance of the Church laws prevented the occurrence of this abuse under circumstances such that it might readily occur. As a result the health and strength and normality of the population in both body and mind was well above the average of the peoples around them.

The Irish custom of having a number of children in the family also provided a better outlook for the race not alone in numbers but also in vigor of mind and body. It has come to be recognized now that a considerable amount of the tendency to be strong and healthy in both mind and body is born with the child and is dependent to no slight extent on its condition at birth. The successive children in the family up to the sixth or seventh are each on the average half a pound heavier and probably have a better chance for normal mental and physical development. The best mentalities in the family come as a rule after the fourth or fifth. The large families of the

Irish then provided an opportunity for the race to have its geniuses born. A great many of the most distinguished men of the world's history have been born after the fifth in the family, some of them indeed as late as the twelfth to the fifteenth. In our generation if there is anything in this rule, and there seems to be very good reason to think so, we are to a great extent missing the geniuses of the race, because of the smallness of the families.[22]*

* Dr. More Madden called attention to the fact that some of the Irish medical documents that we have indicate that the old Irish were acquainted with anaesthesia for surgical purposes, that is the induction of narcosis in order that surgical operations might be performed painlessly. In a Celtic *materia medica*, that is work on various drug materials used in medicine and surgery written in the twelfth century, there is a reference to a compound containing mandrake and other materials which was to be used "before cuttings and punctures in order that there might not be pain with them." "By means of this it is possible for anyone to secure sleep by just smelling it."

In proof of the antiquity of the use of anaesthetics in the Irish monastic tradition, Dr. More Madden quoted a passage from Jocelyn's life of Kentigern or St. Mungo, patron of Glasgow, a book written in the twelfth century probably during the last quarter or sometime between 1185 and 1199. This life which is edited from the unique manuscript in the British Museum Cott. vat. c. viii. of the twelfth century, was written by the celebrated Jocelyn of Furness, the biographer of St. Patrick, and is dedicated to another Jocelyn, bishop of Glasgow. That passage runs, "It is perfectly clear to us that many having taken the drink of oblivion which physicians call the *lethargion*, have as a result gone to sleep; incisions in their members and at times cauterizations even in their most vital parts or abrasions have occurred without their feeling them in the least. After they were awaked from their sleep they were entirely ignorant of the fact that anything had been done to them." In the original medieval Latin the passage runs: *"Constat nihilominus nobis multos, sumptu potu oblivionis quem physici lethargion vocant obdormire; et in membris incisionem, et aliquotiens adustionem et in vitalibus, abrasionem perpessos, minime sensisse, et post somni excussionem, quae erga sese actŭata fuerant ignorasse."*

CHAPTER XIV

St. Bridget

FOR our modern time very probably the most surprising contribution to civilization made by the Irish in the enthusiastic early days of their Christianity, is that which they made to feminine education. Most people in our time are so accustomed to think that any hint of provision of education for women, that is of higher education, is entirely modern in origin that it can scarcely fail to be a matter of profound astonishment for them to learn that well above 1200 years ago in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era there was a distinguished feminine educator who laid the foundations of a great new development of education for women. Perhaps it would be even a greater source of surprise for them to learn that a very large number of women took advantage of the opportunities for education provided for them through her influence.

It is all the more astounding to discover that this should have occurred in Ireland in a century at the beginning of the Middle Ages, that early part of them which is usually called the Dark Ages, and yet if there is one historical fact that has become very clear as the result of recent developments in our knowledge of the history of Christian civilization, it is that there was a great Irish woman educator of

the fifth century who stimulated deeply the minds of the women of her own day and whose career proved a notable example that aroused women to pursue the intellectual and the spiritual life for many centuries afterward. This was Bridget whom we have now come to call St. Bridget. Her name is still in benediction among the Irish who think of her among women as only next to the Mother of the Saviour and who speak reverently and devoutly of her as "Our Mary of the Gaels."*

Very early in life Bridget came under the influence of St. Patrick with whose name hers was to be associated among the Irish down to our own time. From her very earliest years her most noticeable characteristic was her tender care of the poor. Indeed this profound charity prompted her to give away so much to those in need that on more than one occasion she embarrassed her mother who in the exercise of that distinctively Irish trait of hospitality sometimes found that her store of good things to eat had been so trenched upon by Bridget's liber-

* It is very interesting to realize in connection with the story of St. Bridget that the ancient Irish before the coming of Christianity were very devoted to a goddess Bridget who was the patron deity of poetry and wisdom. It is easy to understand what a favorite she would be among the poetically inclined Irish. Besides there was a famous law giver of the name of Bridget who lived just about the time of Christ and who is spoken of in concise Irish fashion as "law-wise." She was either the wife or daughter of Senchan, the Ollam or royal poet of Ulster at the court of King Conor MacNessa. Many of her laws and sayings are preserved among the Irish traditions and even some of the decisions said to be made by her in the olden time were followed as precedents by male successors learned in the law well down into historical times. It has been suggested that some of the traditions associated with the ancient goddess and the "law-wise" Bridget have been transferred to the later St. Bridget, the Mary of the Gaels, but there are so many definite traditions relating to St. Bridget herself that there was no need of trying to increase her prestige by borrowing, deliberately or indeliberately, from either the goddess or the lady of the law.

ality to the poor that there was danger of there not being enough on hand for the formal guests of the house. According to a very old legend more than once on these occasions there was a miraculous replenishment of the larder so that mother was not too much disturbed in the exercise of Irish hospitality. Bridget herself gave so much time to the poor even when scarcely more than a child that it is not surprising to find that stories resembling those told with regard to St. Elizabeth of Hungary some six centuries later are anticipated in her regard. If they are but legends they are so finely illustrative of the best of human traits—thoughtfulness for others in need—as to be a source of wonderful inspiration for others who feel the incentive to charity.

One of the old Irish traditions with regard to Bridget represents her as almost hungering and thirsting after the opportunity to do good for others particularly those who were in want. It is expressed with Irish ampleness in the words that have come down to us. "Her desire was to satisfy the poor, to expel every hardship, to spare every miserable man."

Her position in life was such that as she grew into young womanhood her parents rather expected her to marry and according to the custom of the time various suitors were entertained but Bridget would have none of them. She said that she wanted to devote herself to caring for others and that she found no pleasure in social life. Just as with regard to St. Elizabeth of Hungary later some of those around her suggested that she had very poor taste

thus to want to associate with the lowly rather than with her social equals, but that made no difference to Bridget. Society has always been about the same in its magnification of trivialities no matter what the stage of civilization and Bridget was one of those who realized the truth of the Scriptural expression *fascinatio nugacitatis obscurat bona,* "the witchery of trifles obscures what is worth while in life."

Strange as it may seem at that period in the world's history Bridget insisted on finding the opportunity to live the life of the mind and the spirit rather than to follow after the cult of things and fortunately Patrick was able to help her so effectively that she was prompted to take up the task of founding a religious community in which her Irish fellow country women might have the opportunity to seek happiness apart from marriage. Her parents were very much opposed to this idea of hers and all those around her who liked the beautiful kindly girl whose gentleness of disposition and care for others had endeared her to all hearts showed unmistakably that they too felt that her place was with her parents and her friends rather than in what they considered the narrow limitations of a religious community. It has often been remarked that not infrequently it is just those who become convinced of their vocation to a religious life whose charming dispositions make them the most missed by their relatives and render separation from them seem all the harder for friends who know them well. There are those even who do not hesitate to say that some of the others who

remain in the world might well be spared for the life of the cloister. At that time, however, it was the custom for young women to take vows of chastity without entering a religious order. Accordingly, the family pleaded that Bridget might at least remain at home, doing the good among the poor that she had always accomplished and fulfilling her duties as a daughter to her parents as they grew older, without inflicting the inevitable sadness which that complete separation that would be necessitated by life in a convent would so poignantly bring to them. The reasoning is not unfamiliar. It is and has always been a favorite family objection in these cases that just as much good can be done at home. The world and its ways do not change with the centuries. Bridget was sure, however, that her religious life would be less perfect in that way and so nothing could disturb that resolution to live her life for others and for God without the disturbance of family ties and domestic duties. With the consent of St. Patrick then and under his direction Bridget gather round her a number of young women for the foundation of a sisterhood whose object was to be teaching and charity. The home chosen for the new institute was at Kildare on a great level tract that represents one of the best agricultural portions of Ireland. Here Bridget established what eventually developed into a college for women. Strange as it may seem to us in the modern time, not far away a monastic establishment for men grew up and this was under the jurisdiction of Bridget and of

her successors, the abbesses of Kildare. Some of the teaching at Kildare was done by the monks from the neighboring monastery and the religious of both houses seem to have been present together at the services in the cathedral at least on the big festival days. Down the middle of this cathedral there was a partition and the women worshipped on one side and the men on the other.

Dr. Douglas Hyde in his sketch of St. Bridget in his volume on the "Literary History of Ireland," emphasized the fact that before Bridget's death a regular city and a great school at Kildare rivalling that of Armagh itself in fame had arisen around her. From the small beginnings which she made beneath the branches of the oak tree when her first little church, Cildara, "the church of the oak tree," from which the name is derived, lifted itself up from the plain, there came fine developments. She planted the mustard seed and it grew. Cogitosus, her biographer, describes the great church at Kildare which succeeded that first small church. He says that it was large and lofty and possessed of many pictures as well as many hangings. It was particularly famous for its ornamental doorways. Other traditions tell us of the many beautiful things there were in the church, — artistically decorated chalices, bells, patens and shrines. It was probably the intense feeling of reverence for the name of Bridget that led to the erection and afterwards the preservation of the Beautiful Round Tower which still exists there. It is the loftiest Round Tower in Ireland,

over 130 feet in height and with its unusually ornamental doorway is a very striking monument of Irish feeling toward St. Bridget and her work at Kildare.

The abbey of Kildare thus founded by Bridget came to be known throughout the civilized world. With it was associated a school that rivalled those of the men throughout Ireland at this time. As a result visitors and students came from all over Ireland itself, then its reputation spread beyond the seas and women came from England and from Gaul and from Iberia, some to stay as members of the religious community, but others to take home with them the breath of the life of the mind and of the spirit which they had breathed in so deeply at Kildare. Bridget came to be looked upon as a wonderful counsellor and great ecclesiastics of the time came to see and consult the holy abbess whose name and fame were now known throughout the land.

Mrs. Emily James Putnam writing in "The Lady" (New York, 1909) a series of chapters on the position and influence that women have achieved down the centuries, did not hesitate to say that:

"No institution of Europe has ever won for the lady the freedom and development that she enjoyed in the convent in early days. The modern college for women only feebly reproduces it, since the college for women has arisen at a time when colleges in general are under a cloud. The Lady Abbess on the other hand, was part of the two great social forces of her time, feudalism and the Church. Great spiritual rewards and great worldly prizes were alike

within her grasp. She was treated as an equal by the men of her class, as is witnessed by the letters we still have from popes and emperors to abbesses. She had the stimulus of competition with men in executive capacity, in scholarship, and in artistic production, since her work was freely set before the general public; but she was relieved by the circumstances of her environment from the ceaseless competition in common life of woman with woman for the favor of the individual man. In the cloister of the great days, as on a small scale in the college for women today, women were judged by each other as men are everywhere judged by each other, for sterling qualities of head and heart and character."

It is no mere tradition founded on the pious exaggerations of later generations that tells the story of the influence wielded by St. Bridget. Men of all kinds, but particularly the spiritually minded scholars of her time of whom there were so many, came to consult her not only because of her reputation for sanctity, that is her discernment in spiritual things, but also because of her practical common sense and her thoroughgoing administrative ability in matters monastic and her knowledge of humanity and devotion to the care of others. We have the names of not a few of the men who came thus to consult the religious mother of Ireland as she was then considered. St. Finian, the founder of the great Monastery of Clonard, was invited by St. Bridget to give a series of discourses to her nuns on religious topics somewhat very probably in the line of what would

now be called a retreat. This is by the way one of the earliest series of spiritual conferences on record. He is said to have been wonderfully impressed with what he saw at Kildare and to have declared that he hoped that each one of the nuns received half as much influence for good from what he had to say as he himself had received from what he had witnessed at Kildare.

St. Kevin of Glendalough, another of the great scholars of the time, when a young man, visited St. Bridget in order to consult her with regard to his vocation in life. In accordance with her advice he became an anchorite at first and then later the founder of the famous monastery and schools of Glendalough. Another founder of a great school, that of Sletty, which was situated in Queens County not far from the Carlow boundary, was also a visitor who came to take counsel as a young man from the "Mary of the Gaels," or "Mary of Erin" as the Irish came to call her in their love of the beauty of her character. This was St. Fiech who afterwards became a writer of great eminence in the Celtic tongue. His poem in the praise of St. Patrick is one of the classics in that dear old language. Another distinguished ecclesiastical visitor to Kildare was St. Ibar, the founder of a monastery for men on the plains of the river Liffey. He came frequently to ask advice from the abbess of Kildare, though it should also be noted that he was of great help to her in establishing her convent. Perhaps we of the modern times are even more grateful to him for the

fact that it was at his request that St. Bridget composed a beautiful hymn which is still extant.

So far from all the honor that accrued to her as the result of scholarly men coming from long distances to consult her turning her head in any way, Bridget's favorite occupation for herself was according to tradition the care of poor children. While her liking for the poor and her charity led her to do everything in her power and sometimes one would think almost more than would be expected of her for those in poverty, her heart went out especially to the little ones. Doubtless the indigence of their parents was often as in our time due to their own fault. The children, however, were always innocent in their sufferings and eminently to be pitied. She realized too that in them and their proper upbringing lay the possibility of the prevention of future poverty. Influence exerted upon the little ones would make them have, in spite of an unfortunate environment, aspirations after better things, and this would surely tend to decrease the amount of poverty in the country. Her enthusiasm in the founding of schools for poor children, in which she delighted to teach herself, whenever the press of other duties would permit, is one of the traits of this saint of fifteen centuries ago that can scarcely fail to touch the heart of humanity at all times and never more than at the present moment when our care for the children of the poor is the finest feature of charity.

Bridget seems to have been deeply persuaded that agriculture and its adjuncts, dairying and the raising

of cattle, were to be the most important occupations for the people of Ireland. While she was deeply interested in mental development and education in the narrower sense of book learning, she made it a point to cultivate agriculture and to encourage its development among the tenants of her monastery lands to as great an extent as possible. Most of the lives written of her contain passages in which it is set forth that visitors to her abbey sometimes found her out in the fields taking care of the monastery herds or flocks or otherwise engaged in farm work. Usually this is set down to the humility of the saint who though superior assigned herself these humble tasks so that she might curb her own spirit and at the same time teach others, and the lesson was very much needed in that day, the dignity of manual labor.

It seems much more likely however that while some of these motives prompted her there was another even more influential on her conduct. Bridget appreciated very deeply the significance that farming must have for the Irish people and therefore set a good example in the development of it. Monasteries and convents were situated out in the country places in those days, their lands often occupied by tenant farmers and the monastery had to care for them. According to an old tradition the tenants of these medieval abbey lands were the happiest of the country folk. There was a proverb to that effect: "It is good to live under the crozier," that is on the domain of an abbot or abbess. Mon-

asteries made it a point to provide good seeds and the best of stock for their tenant farmers so that with the least labor and the least risk of loss they might cultivate their farms to the best advantage. President Goodell of the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst at the opening of that institution called attention to the fact that the monasteries were the first agricultural schools, training their tenantry to the best use of their farm land, securing the best stock, teaching them to breed it properly, providing the best seed and improving the methods of farming.

Without doubt St. Bridget's intention when she insisted on taking her turn in caring for the monastery flocks and herds and in devoting herself to farm labor was to afford an efficient example in making the Irish folk around her agriculturally inclined. It was not then so much for the sake of the personal effect on her own spirit as for the sake of the tenantry that this humble farm work was her favorite occupation. Monasteries and converts were what we have come to call in city life in modern times "settlements" among the people that accomplished sterling work of great humanitarian purpose. Around them the peasantry found help in their wants, consolation in their distress, education and uplift for their children, direction in their farming, a supply of seeds when theirs had failed, and indeed a refuge in all their necessities. Bridget's was a great pioneer work in this regard begun even before

the days when Benedictine monasteries and nunneries came to mean so much for Europe.

It is rather difficult to be assured now as to Bridget's own contributions to literature. In spite of all her responsibilities it is said that she found time for some writing. A poem in Gaelic on "The Virtues of St. Patrick" is attributed to her; also some hymns.* In prose she is said to have written a short spiritual treatise entitled "The Quiver of Divine Love." There is also an epistle to St. Aid of Degill containing instructions with regard to the religious and the spiritual life which is attributed to her. Her great mead of praise however is that she encouraged in others and particularly in the women of her time who came from many countries the love of literature and thus created an appreciative audience for the poets of her day. She certainly made

* One of the poems attributed to Bridget is the story of a blind woman to whom Bridget had restored sight. After enjoying the pleasures of vision for a very short time the old sister asked that she should be darkened because she found so much of distraction in the sights around her that she could not give that attention to the things of the other world and the presence of God near her that was so readily possible before in her sightless condition. Katherine Tynan Hinkson has told the incident in verse in very simple and striking English verses:

"Yet she said, my sister,
Blind me once again,
Lest His presence in me
Groweth less plain.
Stars and dawn and sunset
Keep till Paradise,
Here His face sufficeth
For my sightless eyes.

"Oh, she said, my sister,
Night is beautiful
Where His face is showing
Who was mocked as fool.
More than star or meteor,
More than moon or sun,
Is the thorn-crowned forehead
Of the Holy One."

the monastery of Kildare as well known for its culture as for its piety and yet all the time remained a thoroughly practical woman recognizing very clearly the value of agriculture and the place it must ever have in the lives of the Irish people. A very old tradition connects her name with the making of beautiful illuminations for books and also with Irish lace making. The first bishop of Kildare, Conlaeth, is often spoken of as Bridget's brazier because of his excellent work in brass made for the convent of Kildare under Bridget's directions.

As the result of the influence which she exerted and the prestige which she created for herself and that of Kildare, there is a well accepted tradition that her successors, the abbesses of Kildare, enjoyed distinction in the religious life of Ireland for centuries after. Archbishop Healy in his great work on "Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars" went so far as to say that:

"The lady abbesses of Kildare enjoyed a kind of primacy over all the nuns of Ireland and moreover were in some sense independent of episcopal jurisdiction, if indeed the bishops of Kildare were not to some extent dependent on them."

Coming from a great prelate who would be perhaps inclined to be jealous of the rights and privileges of his order, this is indeed a strong expression which serves to show very clearly what a wonderful place Bridget secured for herself in the hearts and minds of the Irish people but also of the Irish ecclesi-

astics and of the Irish hierarchy. No wonder that her fame has come down in history for 1500 years as "the Mary of the Gaels," no wonder the Irish women and men as well, have wanted to call their girls after her and that her name has been in veneration ever since.

The more one knows of Bridget and her work and learns to appreciate its true significance interpreting it in its relations to our own efforts along similar lines, the easier it becomes to understand the enthusiastic admiration of contemporaries and succeeding generations. Their praise does not seem fulsome. Mrs. Atkinson brings her charming life of St. Bridget to a conclusion in the following eloquent and poetic sentences:

"And now in regions reached by the swift-winged inspiration of the ancient race, in the New World of the West beyond the Atlantic billows, and in the New World of the South seated in Pacific waters, the sea-divided Gael still hold with inviolable fidelity the guardianship of her name and fame. Bridget has a niche in their churches; Bridget has a seat by their hearth. In the hearts of the Irish, at home and in exile, an echo of St. Brogan's hymn resounds—

'There are two virgins in Heaven
Who will not give me a forgetful protection—
Mary and St. Bridget.
Under the protection of both may we remain.
Great and extended is the honor paid to St. Bridget
on earth.'

The influence of her protection is still felt through-

out this dear land of ours. In dark and dreadful days she infused courage into the hearts of her children to suffer and if necessary yield up their lives for the faith of which she was the illustrious exponent. She guards the virtue of Ireland's daughters, so that they gained an enviable and unique name for purity of heart and modesty of demeanor throughout the civilized world. The prayer that wells up from an Irish heart to her shall never go unheeded. The power of her intercession has not lessened with the years, nor has her maternal interest in the spiritual welfare of her race diminished or grown cold and indifferent. St. Bridget is still our beloved patroness: we are still her children."

But Bridget did not confine her influence merely to her own abbey or even the immediate neighborhood of Kildare. All the lives of her time mention that she made many journeys through the south and west of her Ireland consulting, counselling and directing the great scholars and saints of the day. Undoubtedly one of her purposes was to be sure that her school at Kildare should have whatever advantages other schools throughout Ireland had. Another was that her presence inspired many to take up the religious life and that after a visit of this kind there would be many applicants for entrance into her abbey. The rich and the poor, flocked to her, the rich bearing gifts, the poor asking for help, and very few went away without feeling that some great new power had come to them and that now they would be able to bear their ills better than be-

fore or even throw them off. We who are beginning to know how many of the ills of mankind are due to dreads and fears of various kinds that come over people and how they can be cured if only they will release their own spirits, can appreciate that many an ailing person must have gone away from Bridget better than before, even though there were no special influence from on High to further her efforts, but the people of her generation insisted that there was something of divine aid that came through her administrations.

Many writers particularly in recent years since the special study of old Irish history has flourished, even though without sympathy for Bridget's religious aspirations, have come to realize that here indeed was a very great woman who deserves all the praise that has been given her, and merits a place among the world's greatest women of all times. His Eminence, Cardinal Moran, in his life of the saint gives an extract from the work of a Protestant churchman of distinction, entitled "St. Bridget and the See of Kildare," in which the writer thus testifies to the veneration in which the name of St. Bridget was held at home and abroad:

"Extraordinary veneration for the name of St. Bridget was displayed by the Irish in the Middle Ages. One writer says that the Scots, the Picts, the Irish and those who live near them, the English, put her next after the Virgin Mother of God. It is said that her feast was celebrated in every Cathedral

Church from the Gersons to the German Sea for nearly a thousand years."

The place that Bridget achieved for herself in the hearts of the Irish men as well as women in her time led to the establishment of customs according to which women shared much more than could have been thought possible under Roman influences in the intellectual development and the work of the men. The fact that Bridget herself was the abbess of a religious institution with both men and women under her jurisdiction, is astonishing for our time. This custom continued however for centuries and spread beyond Ireland itself as is well illustrated by the instance of the abbey, convent we would call it, of Streonshalh (now Whitby) in England founded under the Gaelic tradition. There St. Hilda as we have suggested in the following chapter was the abbess of a monastery where there were many nuns but also a certain number of monks. A very unusual circumstance was that the abbesses of Kildare, Bridget's successors for centuries after her time, seem to have been formally consulted with regard to the appointment of the bishop of Kildare. This custom did not go so far as to permit her to nominate the bishop, but the abbess apparently had the right of veto with regard to candidates whom she might deem unsuitable for the position because of the very close relations that existed between the bishopric and the abbey.

The first bishop of Kildare, Conlaeth, is usually

considered to have been Bridget's own candidate for the position. As we have said he is usually spoken of in history as "Bridget's brazier" because he was famous as a fine worker in metals to whom Bridget had offered the opportunity to employ his skill in the making of beautiful objects of various kinds for the abbey. According to tradition, he was also a teacher of decorative art, especially in the metals in Bridget's school at Kildare. It was here that was laid the foundation of that reputation for the making of beautiful shrines, chalices, brooches and other objects for which the Irish were so famous in succeeding centuries.

Bridget seems to have encouraged in every way the making of beautiful things. It is the tradition so well authenticated with regard to this that makes it seem very likely that when Gerald Barry, Giraldus Cambrensis, made his visit to Kildare, he was actually shown the very beautiful copy of the Scriptures which he tells us that he saw there and which he considered to be the most beautiful book in the world. It was thought for a time that perhaps this might have been the Book of Kells but we have no historical record or even distant hint that the Book of Kells was ever at Kildare, so it is probable that what Gerald saw was another volume almost if not quite equally beautiful. Indeed after recent developments in Irish archeology there are not a few scholars who venture to suggest that Gerald may actually have seen at Kildare a still more handsome copy of the Scriptures than the Book of Kells, if such a thing

were possible. Bridget's interest in things of beauty of all kinds because they were joys forever, would account for the initiation of the tradition of the making of these marvelous manuscripts with their precious illumination, as well as for the artistic metal work at Kildare, with regard to which historical evidence is ample and authoritative.

Giraldus was most enthusiastic about the manuscript which he had had the chance to study carefully at Kildare. Almost needless to say for anyone who knows Gerald the Welshman even a very little, it was rather difficult for him to become enthusiastic about anything Irish. He had the chauvinistic jealousy that is so likely to develop when people are closely related in origin. The sight of this illuminated manuscript however which Gerald seems to have been told came from Bridget's time, though of course it was only due to the persistence of the influence which she had evoked at Kildare long after her death, had quite taken away his breath. He was just rapt in admiration. As a result his guard of chauvinism dropped and so he declared that this book seemed to him to be the work of angels rather than of men. Hence his expression:

"Of all the beautiful things at Kildare, I have found nothing more wonderful than the marvelous book written in the time of St. Bridget and as they say by the hands of an angel. The book contains the Concordance of the Gospels according to St. Jerome, and every page is filled with divers figures most accurately marked out with various colors. Here

you behold a majestic face divinely drawn, there the mystical forms of the evangelists, each having sometimes six, sometimes four and sometimes two wings; here an eagle, there a calf, there a human face and a lion and other figures in infinite variety, so cleverly wrought together that if you looked carelessly at them, they would seem like a uniform blot composed without skill or special study, rather than art. But, if you look closely with all the acuteness of sight that you can command and examine the inmost secrets of that wondrous art, you will discover such delicate, such subtle, such fine and closely wrought lines, twisted and interwoven in such intricate knots and adorned with such fresh and brilliant colors that you will readily acknowledge the whole to have been the result of angelic rather than human skill. The more frequently I behold it, the more diligently I examine it, the more numerous are the beauties I discover in it, and the more I am lost in renewed admiration of it."

With regard to the possibility that the Book of Kells and the wonderful manuscript of the Gospel which Giraldus Cambrensis saw at Kildare are the same or not, after reviewing the whole situation Sir Edward Sullivan says:

"One can only conclude that the book which the historian did see was one of the many beautiful illuminated manuscripts that have since disappeared, though not the Kells volume; and that commentators have been somewhat too ready to adopt without much investigation a theory for which there seems to be but very little evidential support."

Of course it would be easy to think that after all Gerald the Welshman was only a twelfth century native of Wales without any particular culture or artistic appreciation who happened to have wandered as far away from home as Ireland and was rather ready to find wonders on the way. He had probably almost never seen, so the supposed commentator might continue, an illuminated copy of the Scriptures before, and he would therefore be quite carried away with almost anything that applied a variety of color to the initial letters and to certain pages of the Scriptures. So far from any such fancied description fitting in with Giraldus Cambrensis as we know him, it is about as far away as possible from his actual character and experience. Gerald the Welshman had traveled across Europe several times, he had visited France and Italy as well as Switzerland and possibly had been in Spain, he had seen most of the beautiful things of that period and they were not few in that twelfth century which rivals even the thirteenth as the greatest of centuries. No one we know was better fitted to appreciate the beauties of a wonderful illuminated manuscript than Gerald. His compliment to the illuminated Scriptures of Kildare must therefore be accounted as a very high tribute indeed. It might be easy to think that this was only the exaggeratedly enthusiastic description of a traveler of the Middle Ages knowing little about such things, only that we possess in the Book of Kells a magnificent example

of the marvelous work of the book illuminators in the early centuries in Ireland.

If Kildare really possessed a more beautiful copy of the Scriptures than the Book of Kells, it is only another evidence for the wonderful work that these Irish were able to do. There is no question however of its having come from so early a period as Bridget's own day. She had done so much to awaken the spirit of the Irish with regard to beauty that traditions were likely to connect her name with almost anything that was to be seen in Ireland. What we know of her makes us realize very clearly that she eminently deserved such attributions and that she is undoubtedly one of the greatest women of history in the influence for good that she exerted on the Irish people and through them in succeeding generations on the rest of the civilized world. She stands beside St. Patrick in this regard, and when we recall all that the Irish in the generations after their time accomplished for Christianity and civilization throughout the rest of Europe, it is easy to understand the reverence there has been for the name of Bridget for all these fifteen centuries not only in Ireland but throughout all the west of Europe.

CHAPTER XV

Bridget's Companions and Successors

HAD Bridget stood alone as a solitary phenomenon of Irish history, the only woman interested in the development of her intelligence in her day, her own greatness would rather have been diminished than enhanced by that fact. She was but one of many however who in that period devoted themselves to the intellectual as well as the spiritual life. Her influence was deeply and widely felt and many Irish women, stimulated by her example, developed not only their minds but a spirit of helpfulness for the solution of human problems that has given them an enduring place in the history not only of Ireland itself but the culture of the world. It is manifest from what we have learned in recent years of ancient Irish history that the women of Ireland played a very important rôle in that chapter of the history of civilization which we owe to the Irish. The women of the Teutons as pictured for us by Tacitus who undoubtedly emphasized many traits because he wanted to make the contrast with the women of Rome so much more striking, have held a high place in the thoughts of modern feministic leaders. It is evident that the women of the Gael deserve an even greater place because they stood not only for

women's rights but women's intellectual and artistic development and especially that cult of taste which means so much for the creation of beautiful things.

The more one knows about old Irish customs and laws with regard to women the easier it is to realize that the development of education for women as it developed under St. Bridget, was only a natural outcome of the conditions of women's lives in Ireland. According to law the women were in many ways the equals of the men but according to custom they were in many ways their superiors. First and most unusual in the world of that time, the Irish woman was wooed for herself; she had the right to make up her own mind as to whom she should marry. This right was very preciously conserved and faithfully exercised. By marriage the woman did not become as was the case among nearly all peoples at that time the property of her husband but a partner of his in the matrimonial adventure that they jointly undertook. Irish law made the husband the more important partner but did not abrogate his wife's rights. The Irish expression with regard to marriage was, "it was contracted between them."

It is extremely interesting, now that strenuous efforts are being made to secure the passage of the twentieth amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing equal rights to women, to find that most of what it is thus hoped to gain for the modern woman in our advanced twentieth century was assured to the Irish women fifteen centuries ago. For instance according to the old Gaelic law the wife remained

the sole owner of the property that had been hers before marriage unless she wished deliberately to alienate it for the benefit of her husband. Such property as was jointly owned by them could not be sold or assigned away by the husband without her consent. Their rights in the joint property of the house or family were equal and the free and voluntary consent of both was necessary for its disposal. For anyone who has read the recent literature of the equal rights for women movement all these rights and privileges of the Irishwoman of the early Middle Ages cannot but seem almost astounding.

Even more astonishing is it to find that a married woman had the right in her own person to pursue a case at law and also to recover for a debt. It was a peculiarity of the old Gaelic law that if a woman levied upon the belongings of a debtor she was supposed to distrain such things as were appropriate for women; such animals for instance as lap dogs or sheep; such articles as spindles, mirrors or comb bags. If these had belonged to the man's wife before she was married, or if she had brought them with her into the marriage contract as was usually the case, then these could only be distrained for the personal debt of the wife. Indeed such articles of industry as her distaff, her loom, spinning wheel and spindles were considered somewhat in the light of a working man's tools in the modern time and could not be distrained.

The Irish law with regard to property held by a

woman in her own name which had been appropriated by a father to his daughter "out of affection," was very interesting, because even after her marriage the woman's rights to dispose of it appear to have been as absolute as those of the professional man with respect to his earnings. There was no difficulty therefore as to the transmission of her heritage to her children. It is said to have been the celebrated woman Brehon or female judge, Brigh, who made the decision which fixed this rule with regard to succession to lands in respect of which contracts had been entered into upon the occasion of a woman's marriage. Under tribe law the ownership of property was not so simple as under a commonwealth of the people with individual rights to ownership without any obligations necessarily going with them. In spite of this fact however a woman's rights to the property were very carefully guarded by Irish law and the Irish were in this far ahead of their neighbors in other countries and had anticipated, as I have said, some of the rights that women are insisting on claiming for themselves at the present time. Miss Bryant in her study of Irish law, "Liberty, Order and Law under Native Irish Rule," has brought out these facts.

Even under the Christian dispensation in Ireland, there were certain cases of a legal separation from bed and board for a married couple, though not such divorce as permitted remarriage with another while the wife or husband was alive. This tradition was so deep in the hearts of the Irish people mainly

because of the feeling that divorce worked particular injustice to the wife, that even to the present day they stand firmly united still refusing to permit the privilege of successive polygamy which so many other civilized nations have adopted. As a result of this, in the Irish Free State no legal recognition of divorce has yet come. Under the terms of the legal separation of the older time in Ireland, the wife was granted the right to take with her all of her marriage portion besides her marriage gifts, and an amount over and above for damages. In a word every phase of the old Gaelic law was calculated to insure a woman's rights much better than under the national law of any other country at the time, and surprising though it cannot but seem, far beyond woman's rights in the modern time.

It is not surprising then that when Christianity came to set women free in other countries, the Irish women proceeded to lift themselves up to heights such as had never been enjoyed by women before anywhere up to that time. Education became their privilege and literature and the love of beautiful things in a productive way became their occupation. Knowledge of this preceding history of the pre-Christian Irish presents the background on which the lives of Bridget and her companions and successors can be most readily and thoroughly understood.

The place of women in the life of the Irish at the beginning of the great period of Irish achievement, is best appreciated from the position assigned to

them in their great sagas. Gladstone once said in an article published in "Gleanings of Past Years," (Vol. 7):

"For when we are seeking to ascertain the measure of that conception which any given race has formed of our nature, there is, perhaps, no single test so effective, as the position which it assigns to woman. For as the law of force is the law of brute creation, so in proportion as he is under the yoke of that law does man approximate to the brute. And in proportion, on the other hand, as he has escaped from its dominion, is he ascending into the higher sphere of being and claiming relationship with Deity. But the emancipation and due ascendancy of women are not a mere fact, they are the emphatic assertion of a principle, and that principle is the dethronement of the law of force and the enthronement of other and higher laws in its place and its despite."

As might have been expected President Roosevelt was enthusiastic over the supremely human qualities that he found exhibited in these old Irish sagas but was particularly taken with the characters attributed to the Irish women of the olden time. Deirdré whose love brought sorrow in her train as did that of Helen was not the only woman whom the Irish poets picture as transcendently charming. Among the Irish women there were also the Andromaches who proved to be eminently worthy of all a man's love for them and who filled up and made the lives of their husbands ever so much more worth while

than they would have been without them. The story of Emer caught the fancy of the president particularly:

"Emer the daughter of Forgall the Wily who was wooed by Cuchulain and had 'the six gifts of a girl—beauty, and soft voice, and sweet speech, and wisdom, and needle work, and chastity.' In their wooing the hero and heroine spoke to one another in riddles, those delights of the childhood of peoples. She set him journeys to go and feats to perform, which he did in the manner of later knight-errants. After long courting and many hardships, he took Emer to wife, and she was true to him and loved him and gloried in him and watched over him until the day he went out to meet his death. All this was in a spirit which we would find natural in a heroine of modern or of medieval times—a spirit which it would be hard to match either among the civilizations of antiquity, or in early barbarisms other than the Erse."

Walter Copeland Perry in his book on "The Women of Homer" said:

"It is hardly necessary to point out that in the primitive as in the modern world civilization was in the main fostered and advanced by women. The men were absorbed in wars, the chase and the struggle for existence. On the women devolved the training of children, the transmission of national customs and traditions, from age to age."

After being reasonably familiar with the old Irish sagas one is very likely to feel that what Mr. Perry

has said with regard to the women of Homer, was still more true with regard to Ireland. The more we know about them the more we realize that they were at once the incentive to men to bring out the best that was in them and considered an all sufficient reward themselves for whatever struggles man might have to go through in the accomplishment of their desires. The beautiful passage in which Homer described the tender domestic relations in the family of Hector has a vivid reminder of Irish traditions. When the consciousness of impending death came to Hector it is to Andromache that the hero turns and it is the parting with her that constitutes death's bitterest pang. The leave taking between Hector and Andromache is one of the most simply beautiful yet sublime passages in all literature and the introduction of the child softens it and makes it intensely human. Out of such simple material the Irish poets also made their sagas.

President Roosevelt in his article on "The Ancient Irish Sagas" (the *Century Magazine,* January 1907) has emphasized the contrast between the women pictured by the ancient Irish poets and those of the Norse poets. He said:

"Still more striking is the difference between the women in the Irish sagas and those, for instance, of the Norse sagas. Their heirs of the spirit are the Arthurian heroines, and the heroines of the romances of the middle ages. In the 'Song of Roland'—rather curiously, considering that it is the first great piece of French literature—woman plays

absolutely no part at all; there is not a female figure which is more than a name, or which can be placed beside Roland and Oliver, Archbishop Turpin and the traitor Ganelon, and Charlemagne, the mighty emperor of the *'barbe fleurie.'* The heroines of the early Norse and German stories are splendid and terrible, fit to be the mothers of a mighty race, as stern and relentless as their lovers and husbands. But it would be hard indeed to find among them a heroine who would appeal to our modern ideas as does Emer, the beloved of Cuchulain, or Deirdré, the sweetheart of the fated son of Usnach. Emer and Deirdré have the charm, the power of inspiring and returning romantic love, that belonged to the ladies whose lords were the knights of the Round Table, though of course this does not mean that they lacked some very archaic tastes and attributes."

The women most in honor among the Irish were the saints, the reverence for whom was doubled if they were also poets. One of this combination was a great contemporary of Bridget, St. Ita (480-570), who on account of the immense prestige which she acquired for sanctity as well as the reputation which accrued to her from her poetry, is sometimes spoken of, because of her birth in the southern province of Ireland, as "the Mary of Munster." She came from a distinguished old Irish family the members of which usually devoted themselves to the social life of the time but Christianity invited her to live the life of the spirit. The humility which she cultivated so assidously brought to her prestige far beyond that of any of her ancestors not only in her

own day but also in the long subsequent ages. She lived for a time at least as a hermit and is said to have been granted many heavenly favors in her solitary life. Of her gift of poetry there is no doubt and one of her poems on "Jesukin," the affectionate name that she used in Irish for the Child Jesus, has been translated in the modern time and gives an excellent idea of the thought and the technique of the poets of that day. Father Cassidy in his volume "The Women of the Gael" (Boston, 1922) says that this beautiful hymn of St. Ita "reveals a rare simplicity of soul, a touching familiarity of treatment of the spiritual and the Celtic tribalism of conception which intertwines happily with great warmth of feeling."

This hymn is said to have been written as the result of a vision at the Christmas time of the Christ Child who came to share the solitude of the poet saint on His birth night. It has been translated in the original metre and rhyme scheme by Dr. Sigerson who published it in his "Bards of the Gael and the Gaul." It should be in the hands of those who might have any doubts about the completeness with which the Irish exemplified their invention of rhyme in poetry.

JESUKIN (LITTLE JESUS)

Jesukin
Lives my little cell within,
What were wealth of riches here,
All is lie but Jesukin.

Nursling nourished as 'tis right,
Harbors here no servile spright,
Jesu of the skies Who art
Next my heart through every night.

Jesukin my good for aye,
Calling and will not have nay,
King of all things ever true,
He shall rue who will away.

Jesu more than angels' aid,
Fosterling not formed to fade,
Nursed by me in desert wild,
Jesu, Child of Juda's maid.

Sons of kings and kingly kin,
To my land may enter in,
Guest of none I hope to be
Save of Thee, my Jesukin.

Unto Heaven's high king confessed,
Sing a chorus maidens blessed,
He is over us though within,
Jesukin is on my breast.

Not all the great women of Ireland in this early day were celibates however. We hear much of the mothers of some of the saints and scholars of Patrick's time and immediately succeeding generations that demonstrates very clearly what a depth of influence these women exerted. Fighting in the pagan times had become such a characteristic of the Irish redeemed only from barbarism by the chivalric

traits we find associated with it—traits that represent the foundation of medieval chivalry—that even the women took part in it and that not alone from choice but from compulsion. Ronnat, the pious mother of St. Adamnán, is said to have prevailed upon her son to become the liberator of women from this compulsory military service. He had become so influential in his generation that his voice of protest raised loudly and persistently because of his love for his mother won for all time for the women of Ireland exemption from the duty of carrying arms. The exemption was secured not without difficulty for the old story is that there had to be celestial interference before the salutary reform could be brought about.

The women proved particularly to be the helpful auxiliaries of Patrick in his great work of Christianizing the Irish people. Women were very much attracted to him. One of them, the daughter of Daire, one of the kings of Ireland, fell in love with him and took her affection so hard that it seemed as though she would surely die of a broken heart. Aubrey de Vere has told the story in charming verse of how Benignus, the disciple of Patrick at the patriarch's behest, cured her physical ailment and turned her human love for the apostle into love of her Creator. The wife of Laoghare, the high king of Ireland, was another of these Irish women who did much for the Faith. Her husband refused to desert the pagan religion that had come down from his ancestors but his wife turned to the new belief

and repaid the gift of faith by an enduring donation to the Church. According to a passage in the Irish Text Society "she bound herself to give a sheep out of every flock she possessed each year and a portion of every meal she should take during life for the poor of God." She brought about the promulgation of an ordnance requiring every property owner throughout Ireland to do the like.

While the principal school for women in Ireland was Kildare there are very definite traditions that other schools also were opened to them. For instance there is no doubt that there were women pupils in attendance at the school of St. Finian at Clonard in the sixth century. We are told that when the daughter of the king of Cualann came to Clonard in order to learn to read her psalms, Finian assigned his favorite pupil, Ciaron, to be her master. The Scriptures were read in Latin as a rule so that it is evident that the young woman already knew some Latin and was expected to know more of it. There are other traditions which show that women studied the same subjects as the men so far as book learning was concerned and seem to have devoted themselves to Hebrew and Greek as well though their education was rather directed toward making them capable of properly appreciating beautiful things and training them in the making of them.

Almost the last place that one would expect to hear about co-education in the olden time would be Ireland and yet there seems to be distinct evidence for it. There was even some of the feeling among

the young men with regard to it that has developed in our day in some cases among the collegians who attend classes in conjunction with young women students. We are told that when St. Ita, foster mother of St. Brendan the navigator, was sending him off to study in the school of St. Jarlath at Tuam, she said to him, "Study not with women lest someone revile thee." The Gaelic tradition of teaching in common for boys and girls was carried from Ireland over to Scotland and also to England. When St. Mugint went over and founded a school in Scotland in the seventh century the education which it offered in connection with his missionary work was for girls as well as for boys. Down at Streonshalh (Whitby) something at least of the same custom must have existed since we are told that when Caedmon having dreamed the beginning of his great hymn of creation proved unable to read or write, St. Hilda made provision for him to be taught, and he continued to reside there and devoted himself to the writing of his great hymn. The fact that there were a number of Irish women who wrote poetry would seem to indicate that they must have had rather free opportunities for education, while the regard which their sons as scholars and saints had for them would seem purely to imply that mother must have had a development of intelligence that made them respect and reverence her for herself as well as for the fact that she had borne them and brought them into existence.

How deeply Bridget's influence and that of Irish

monastic tradition for women was felt in neighboring countries beyond the bounds of Ireland is best illustrated by the foundation of Streonshalh, the great monastic establishment on the northeast coast of England which we know as Whitby, though Whitby is a Danish name the use of which came in several centuries after the foundation. This was a dual monastery with a number of nuns in it and a smaller number of monks both men and women under the rule of an abbess. This monastery was founded by St. Hilda who was a close personal friend of St. Aidan the Irish missionary who came from Iona and who founded Lindisfarne and who began that series of missions to the English which converted the north of England and the midlands. St. Augustine's work was confined to the south east of England and indeed almost exclusively to Kent.

It was at Streonshalh while St. Hilda was the abbess there that the famous incident took place which we have on the authority of Venerable Bede most of whose life was passed at Wearmouth not far away only a generation later and who therefore was in a position to know all the circumstances and the authentic tale of them. According to the Irish custom on one of the great feasts of the Church they were having in the Abbey at Streonshalh a celebration after the evening meal in which everybody was expected to contribute something to the entertainment of the community. The Irish harp small and readily passed from hand to hand was going from one to the other and each in turn was

doing whatever he could to add to the happiness of the festive occasion. Caedmon, who was only a hostler or stableman, was present with the others, and as he saw the harp approaching him not wishing to refuse as he had done before, left the banquet hall regretfully and went out to the servants' quarters to sleep. He dreamed that an old man with a long white beard came to him and said, "Caedmon, sing!" His reply was that he could not and that was why he had left the feast. Still the old man persisted and said, "Caedmon, sing!" Caedmon shook his head and said he could not. For a third time the old man said, "Caedmon, sing!" So overborne by his persistency, Caedmon took the harp and on the suggestion of the old man sang the song of creation. He had doubtless often heard the first part of Genesis read and this shaped itself into poetry and under the inspiration of the old man's presence Caedmon sang a long epic poem.

The next morning he recalled his dream but better than most of us he recalled also the poetry which he had so successfully composed in his dream. He told the reeve, the master of the workmen in the monastery, the story of what had happened to him, and he, recognizing something more than usual in it, took him to St. Hilda who when she heard the beginning lines of the poem of creation appreciated at once that here was a poet. When she found that Caedmon could neither read nor write she took in hand the direction of his education, had him taught by the best masters in the monastery, and provided

him with the opportunity to finish the great poem the beginning of which had come to him in his dream.

The whole story sounds Irish, not English; only that we have it on the authority of Venerable Bede it would have been very hard to make us believe that this was veridical history and not legend. Only that we have the great poem of Caedmon which was fortunately preserved for us in a unique tenth century manuscript until its printing under the supervision of Junius Jon, the librarian of the Earl of Arundel, after the middle of the seventeenth century, it would have been quite impossible to make the modern world believe in spite of Venerable Bede's authority that one of the great poems of the world had been written in the eighth century in England under the circumstances that are related. Caedmon's great poem is the beginning of English literature and a worthy foundation stone of that great structure which has arisen in the English tongue since. The influence of the Gaels in it can be felt very deeply and the Celtic tradition was one of the prime factors in its origin.

When the Irish missionaries went over to the continent especially among the tribes described by Tacitus in his "Germania" they very soon found that the place of the women in the tribes was so important that they could hope to influence the men very little unless the women had first been won over. For this purpose womanly influence was needed and so many of these missionaries were accompanied by

nuns who very soon found their way to the hearts of the womenfolk. A typical instance of such successful work is to be seen in the story of St. Dympna or Dimphna, who is the patron saint of feeble-minded children and around whose shrine at Gheel there came to be established that family care for the feeble-minded which we are trying to imitate in the modern time. When St. Boniface went to Germany from England he very soon found that feminine influence was needed and accordingly St. Thecla and St. Leoba went to work with him. This was following the tradition of the Irish missionaries in the preceding centuries. Undoubtedly Bridget's work and her organization of the nunneries of Ireland and their collaboration with the monks in many ways brought about this association of monks and nuns in missionary work which proved so successful.

These double monasteries of men and women with a woman as the superior were very characteristically Irish and were much more common than would usually be thought. Mary Bateson in her paper on "The Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries" which appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (XIII, 1899, page 197) said:

"Wherever the apostles of Irish monasticism went this form of organization followed—not because it was one which originated with and peculiarly belonged to the Irish—but because it could only live in the most spiritual atmosphere."

One phase of this Irish missionary labor on the continent, because in its enduring results it anticipated strikingly a very modern development of social service, is particularly interesting. That is the care for feeble-minded and the milder insane as it is organized in the little town of Gheel in Belgium. Some years ago when the question of the care for the feeble-minded began to be more acute in the midst of our crowded large city populations, it came to be realized that the best way to care for such children was under what is known as the village plan. Under this method families take one or two of these backward children and raise them with their own children or gather a few of them in cottages keeping them in small units, for institutionalism is not a successful mode of guardianship for these little ones. When this idea began to be prevalent the English speaking world particularly was very much surprised to find that this system of caring for backward children had been in use for many centuries very successfully in Belgium and that the working of the plan could be studied best in the little town of Gheel not far from Ghent. The result was the visiting of Gheel by a number of those who are interested in the question of appropriate care for these waifs whom civilization finds such a difficult problem to deal with.

A visit to Gheel inevitably brought out the story of the origin of the custom of caring for the feeble-minded after the Gheel fashion. That went back to the early days of Irish missionary effort on this

part of the continent. The Irish missionaries in their zeal for converting the barbaric Teutonic tribes to Christianity, very soon found that their efforts were discouragingly unsuccessful because the men were not ready to accept a religion like Christianity and the women would not listen to the missionaries. Missionary effort needed the help of feminine influence. Accordingly they sent for women assistants in their work and then were able to accomplish ever so much more than before though it was mainly through feminine influence over the children that their missionary efforts proved successful. When the English missionaries went over to Germany for the conversion of the northern Teutonic nations, they found the same difficulty and under the influence of the Irish tradition reached the same practical conclusion with regard to the need of feminine influence. Accordingly we find St. Boniface sending over to England and enlisting the aid of St. Thecla and St. Lioba as helpers in his missionary labors with notably successful results. This was what had happened earlier on the Irish missions among the Belgians.

Among the Irish women who went over to the assistance of the missionaries in Belgium, very much as so many Irish American young women are now going with the various religious orders and congregations who are founding missions in China, was one named Dympna. Her story is not definitely known but seems to have run about like this. She was only a very young girl and it might seem as though

she would not be of very much use on the missions. She loved children very much however and very soon she gathered a number of the backward and more or less feeble-minded children around her and endeavored to teach them the essential Christian doctrine at least. Their mothers seem to have been willing to part with these children and to be ready to have them baptized perhaps with the feeling that this strange new religion might have something in it that would do good to their children and surely it could do them no harm. Dympna seems to have been very successful in her labors among the children and to have aroused not a few of them to a glimmering spark of intelligence which had scarcely shown any signs of existence before. This only made her more popular and soon provided further subjects for her to take care of.

In the midst of her work however a wave of fanatic opposition to Christianity swept over the tribe and Dympna was martyred. After her death many mothers still continued to think that the Irish girl ought to be interested in their backward children as before and so they erected a shrine to her in this town of Gheel. To this shrine they brought their backward children hoping that as the martyred girl had been interested in them while she was alive she would surely continue that interest and be even more potent in her ability to awaken their intelligence than she was while on earth. They did not expect that this improvement should come all at once, and so there came the custom of leaving the children in

the charge of a family who lived near the shrine with the idea that the saint might be reminded by the presence of the child to do something for it. This has continued down unto the present day only that in modern time the Belgian government organized it in order to prevent abuses that might possibly occur and Gheel has continued to be an institutional town under governmental control ever since. St. Dympna's work, for she is now known as a saint, has continued for considerably more than a millennium to make itself felt and in our time in spite of all the progress that mankind is supposed to be making there are more backward children than ever needing to be cared for and the Gheel system is now having its influence for the reorganization of care for them all over the world.

Mrs. Charlotte Kellogg, the wife of Vernon Kellogg, sometime Professor of Zoölogy at Leland Stanford University, Berkeley, Cal., has recently written an article for the *Atlantic Monthly,* July, 1926, on Gheel. Her husband, the well known American scientist, was prominently connected with Mr. Herbert Hoover in the work of the United States Food Commission in Belgium. As a result she was brought intimately in contact with the Belgian people and has written most sympathetically with regard to their great cardinal archbishop. She visited Gheel and studied the actual conditions for the care of the feeble-minded and the milder insane as they may be seen in the little old-fashioned town. She thinks that very wonderful work has been ac-

complished there for a very long time, work that deserves to be known and properly appreciated by the rest of the world. She is but one of a number of Americans who during the past twenty-five years have visited Gheel in order to learn something by personal observation of the astonishing little town and its work. Practically all of them have come back deeply impressed as she was and convinced that somehow the spirit of St. Dympna or Dimphna still lived among this Belgian people and enabled them to accomplish a fine humanitarian work in a very simple way that is a lesson for all the rest of the world. Mrs. Kellogg said:

"Tradition places the beginnings of the practice of housing the 'possessed' in this village of northern Belgium as early as the martyrdom of St. Dimphna, in the sixth century. Historically it dates at least from the fourteenth century. When the cells adjoining the Cathedral proved insufficient to house the suppliants, families devoutly offered their rooms, and so the work spread. From the point of view of her achievement there is no more interesting saint in the whole Catholic calendar than Saint Dimphna."[22]

Unfortunately the vicissitudes of time have carried away many of the records of the accomplishments of these Irish women on the continent in their association with the Irish apostles who carried Christianity and civilization to Europe. We know enough of them however to make it clear that they were thoroughly worthy of the men of the time and

were looked upon as not inferiors but as equals in the great task of bringing Christianity and culture to the barbarous peoples. It is extremely difficult for people of our time as a rule to understand this because during most of the nineteenth century women had come to be excluded from all coordination of effort in education and social service. It is probable that at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the English speaking countries particularly, though also to a great extent among the Teutonic races, women could only by accident obtain any but the most meagre elementary education. In social service only the very lowest classes of women were given occupation, so that no wonder very serious abuses crept in. With this as a background for the great development and amelioration of conditions that have taken place in our time our generation can scarcely fail but be astounded at the idea of education and training in social service for women nearly 1500 years ago. That is however a very interesting chapter in Irish history.

APPENDIX I

Shakespeare's Pronunciation the Irish Brogue

NOTHING probably has served to promote more the lack of appreciation for Irish intelligence in the English speaking countries than the fact that the Irish talked English with that peculiar mode of pronunciation known as a brogue, or more specifically as the Irish brogue. They said *mate* when they meant *meat,* and *desave* when they meant *deceive,* they said *weddin' tower* when they meant *wedding tour* and above all they sank to the very abomination of desolation in pronouncing *soul* as *sowl.* They had an unconquerable habit of putting *h's* after their *d's,* so that they said *murdher,* and *shouldher* and above all they said *min* and *pin* and *sind* when they ought to have used the simple sound of short *e.* Many of them actually stooped to the depth of saying *ayther* and *nayther* with long *ā* sounds in the first syllable, instead of *either* and *neither,* and they used such vulgarisms as "it is your own faut," instead of pronouncing the *l* in the word as of course it should be, and they had some very unfortunate habits in stressing the penult instead of the antepenult of long words. My dear old father used to say *magístrate,* but when he said the Rosary out loud as he faithfully did in the family every night,

he used to say, "let us *contémplate* in this mystery." Of course he said, *conféssor* instead of *cónfessor,* but then I recall that he went still farther into the errors of Irishry by saying *interpréter* instead of *intérpreter* as all right tongued people obviously must.

Most people in our day who hear pronunciations of this kind are perfectly sure that they represent ignorance and perhaps something more. It is comparatively so easy to pronounce the vowel sounds in these words properly that one seems to be forced almost inevitably to the conclusion that when a person continues to pronounce them wrong it must be because there is some definite incapacity for proper speech in that individual. The same thing seems to be true to an even greater degree when the consonants are misplaced and when *'d'* becomes *'th.'* It seems as though only some inherent impairment of the speech organs can possibly have brought about such defects of speech as were noticed in the Irish generally. Of course those from the back districts in Ireland were worse than the others, but all of them were affected by the tendency and this seemed to be due to something lacking or somewhat deformed in their vocal organs. There was more than a hint that very probably this deficiency in proper speech was really due to a lack of intelligence or at least a defect in proper control of the intellectual powers behind the speech organs.

As a result of this state of mind there has been a definite tendency among English speaking people generally to look down rather contemptuously upon

the Irish and this has been particularly noticeable among those who prided themselves on the fact that they could pronounce this English tongue of ours properly. A very interesting reversal of such opinion in the matter has come in recent years among those in touch with scholarly advance in knowledge of the history of English. For linguistic research has served to bring out very clearly the fact that so far from the characteristic Irish pronunciation,—which is usually called the Irish *brogue,* perhaps because it seemed to contemptuous critics to be as coarse as the shoes which the Irish wear—having been invented by the Irish themselves, it represents quite literally the old-fashioned pronunciation of English which used to be universal among the educated. This mode of speech proves to be the way that many of the English classic authors spoke in their time. Indeed only a comparatively little study is needed to show very clearly that the Irish brogue is really a preservation of the Elizabethan method of pronouncing English, which has come down to a great degree unchanged in Ireland from Shakespeare's time. There is no easier way to get an adequate idea of just how Shakespeare and his contemporaries spoke this English tongue of ours than to listen to two reasonably educated Irishmen who come from some country place in Ireland talk English. The sounds they utter are almost exactly those which Shakespeare was accustomed to hear in his day and which he was accustomed to utter when he

took his part upon the stage as he so often did in his plays.

It was during Shakespeare's life in Elizabeth's time that the English language first gained a firm foothold in Ireland. The neighboring island had been annexed under Henry II, and a number of Anglo-Normans had taken up their residence in it; but instead of introducing their own language they had adopted that of the Irish; and indeed, as has been often said, these families, who include the Burkes and all those whose family names begin with Fitz and many another that is now thought distinctively Gaelic, became "more Irish than the Irish themselves." Even much later immigrants from England adopted Irish as their spoken language.

In Elizabeth's time, however, it came to be realized that if there was to be any real consolidation of the two countries, then the Irish language must be supplanted by English, and a definite effort in this direction was made. This change of speech, resented and resisted, was nevertheless successfully accomplished all over the island, except in the west, within a decade after Shakespeare's death. Mr. Douglas Hyde, in his "Literary History of Ireland," says that:

"In 1627 one Connla MacEchagan, of West Meath, translated the *Annals of Clonmacnois* into English. In his dedication he states as the reason for the translation that 'many families now choose rather to put their children to learn English than

their own native tongue, so that their posterities are like to fall into more ignorance of many things which happened before their time.' "

When the very annals of ancient Ireland and its educational institutions were being translated into English lest the rising generation should not know them, it is easy to understand that there must have been a widespread absorption of English in the sister island. This fact takes on a new significance when we study what we now call the Irish brogue in connection with what is known to have been the pronunciation of English at that time. The two are found to conform in practically every respect. Irishmen pronounce English as their forefathers learned it; and have preserved its pronunciation because they have been away from the main current of English speech variation ever since.

To take the vowel sounds first, perhaps the most characteristic Irishism, and what is usually presumed to be the most flagrant example of ignorant mispronunciation, is the way that the Irish, especially in country districts, say *yes*. Almost invariably they pronounce it *yis,* as if it were spelled with an *i* instead of an *e*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, and indeed for two centuries later, all English speaking people pronounced this word just this way. In his well known volume on "The Standard of Pronunciation in English," Professor Lounsbury says:

"Nearly all eighteenth century orthoepists pro-

nounced *yes* as if it were spelled *yis*. Indeed, Walker took the pains to assure us that while it was a mark of incorrectness and vulgarity to give to *yet* the sound of *yit*, the best and most established usage gave to *yes* the sound of *yis*. *Yit*, thus reprobated, was undoubtedly a survival of what was once good usage. The triumph of *e* over *i* in its pronunciation merely preceded its later triumph in *yes*."

This encroachment of the sound of *i* upon *e* was very common in all English words at that time, nor indeed have we entirely got away from the influence of this tendency at the present time. Examples are not hard to find. Of course we all say a young woman is *pritty*, except some very affected people who insist on declaring her *pretty*. No one would think of pronouncing the very word *English* with an *e* sound at the beginning of it. Now as of old we talk about *Inglish*, of course. Most people say *wimmin* and not *wimmen*, for women, though the *e* is asserting itself more and more. It is not surprising, knowing as we do about the encroachment of *i* on short *e* in the olden time, that Irishmen continue to say *min*, *pin*, and *sind*, instead of *men*, *pen*, and *send*. They do so not from ignorance, however, but conservatism.

The preservation of a similar tendency to the encroachment of *e* upon *a* is to be noted in many Irishisms, some of which are shared by most English-speaking people. An Irishman is likely to say *ketch* for *catch*, and in proper names he says *Welsh* for

Walsh (most of my Irish friends call me Dr. Welsh) and with the rest of the world, of course says *reddish* for *radish,* though the *a* sound is said to be coming into use as the more elegant pronunciation of the word. On the other hand, the *e* sounds by a sort of compensation, as it were, were often changed to *a,* especially when they occurred before *r.* An Irishman still says *clark* for *clerk,* and *clargy* for *clergy,* but all the world did that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and some of these *a* sounds for *e* are still retained in such words as *Derby* and *Berkley.* Only the Irishman, however, still says *sarpint* (serpent), though with the history of English pronunciation before us it is easy to understand why.

Other characteristic vowel sounds used by the Irish can be traced far back in our English speech. For instance, the Irishman from the country districts of Ireland still talks about *goold* for *gold.* This is supposed to be a significant index of degeneration of speech and ignorance on the part of the speaker. This very pronunciation *goold* was so common in England when Walker wrote his pronuncing dictionary that that lexicographer, in the words of Professor Lounsbury, "looked upon it as a disgrace to the language that indolence and vulgarity had thus been enabled to corrupt the *o* into the sound it then had. Still, he deemed it too firmly entrenched ever to disappear." This curious sound of *o,* as it would seem to us, will not be so surprising, however, if we recall that even the word *Rome* was in the olden time pronounced as if it were spelled *room.* In

"Julius Caesar" Shakespeare represents Cassius as punning on the word *Rome,* using *room* for the other term of the pun:

"Now is it Rome indeed and room enough."

Walker in his dictionary declared, though as in the case of *goold* it manifestly pained him to make the admission, that the *o* of *Rome* seemed irrevocably committed to the sound represented by the o in the word *move.* The *oo* sound of *o* is not nearly so unusual as we might think; *lose* is a typical example, but it would not be difficult to point out others. To pronounce *Rome* as *room* seems utterly foreign to the spirit of English pronunciation until such familiar words as *whose* and *to,* those stumbling-blocks in spelling, for the foreigner, are recalled. This pronunciation extended to many other words in the seventeenth century. There is a notable tendency now to pronounce words that should have a pure *u* sound with the same sound as is given at the present time to words in *oo.* Young folks are likely to say *bloo* for *blue* and *noo* for *new.* My old grandmother, who came from one of the very backest of the "back districts" in Ireland, but who prided herself not a little on the purity of her pronunciation of English sounds, used to say *blu* exactly as if the *u* sound in it were the same as we give to *you.* Words in *ew* also had wonderfully pure *u* sounds in her mouth, which her grandchildren sometimes found it hard to imitate perfectly.

It is with regard to the diphthongs, however, that

the Irish sin most mortally if we are to accept the modern canons of pronunciations as absolutely final. Every self-respecting Irishman is likely to say that he *resaves* a favor instead of *receives* it, and in every other word in which *ei* occurs after *c,* and is usually pronounced long *e,* he utters the long *a.* As a matter of fact, *ei* is normally in English pronunciation, so far as anything can be normal in so changing a mode, long *a.* No one ever thinks of pronouncing *rein* or *vein,* or *feign* or *reign,* or *eight* or *freight,* or any of a dozen other words that might be named, in any other way than with the long *a* sound. This was true also in the words *receive, deceive, conceive,* etc., until the eighteenth century, when, to the disgust of a number of very intelligent people, some simpering city folk began to change the fine old-fashioned long *a* sound for the long *e.* In spite of the opposition of those who thought they knew better and who set themselves firmly against the new movement, the simper maintained itself, and all the world now indulges in it, except the Irishman, who, having been out of the current of vicissitudinous English pronunciational variation, still maintains the habit of his fathers and of all the English forefathers.

Another flagrant example of Irish pronunciation, a very stigma of the brogue, is the Gaelic custom so well represented by the anecdote told of the Irishman who, being asked which pronounciation he preferred, *neether* or *neyther,* said that *nayther* would do. At least in this combination the pronunciation

of *ei* as long *a* would seem surely to be quite out of the question on any good English grounds. In this regard it is interesting to revert to what Mr. Richard Grant White had to say many years ago with respect to the pronunciation of just these words. He considers that the Irish pronunciation has complete warrant in the history of the language. He said:

"The analogically correct pronunciation of these words is what we call the Irish one, *ather* and *nather;* the diphthong having the sound which it has in many words in which *ei* is, and apparently has always been, so pronounced—*weight, freight, deign, vein, obeisance,* etc. This sound, too, has come down from the Anglo-Saxon times, as we have already seen, the word in that language being *aegther;* and there can be no doubt that in this, as in some other respects, the language of the educated English Irishman is analogically correct, and in conformity to ancient custom. His pronunciation of certain syllables in *ei* which have acquired in English usage the sound of *e* long, as, for example, *conceit, receive,* and which he pronounces *consayt, resayve,* is analogically and historically correct. *E* had of old the sound of *a* long, and *i* the sound of *e,* particularly in words which came to us from or through the Norman French."

Other diphthongs can be illustrated quite as strikingly. Of course the Irishman says *tache* and not *teech* when he is talking about the giving of instruction. Even in Pope's time, however, *ea* was very

frequently if not commonly pronounced long *a*. We have the well-known couplet:

"And thou, Queen Anna, whom four realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take and sometimes tea."
(tay)

There are many other examples that show that this was the common pronunciation of *ea* during the preceding century. Shakespeare's tendency to make puns has enabled us to know just how vowel diphthong sounds were rendered in his time. One of them helps us in this matter of *ea*. In the speech of Leontes to Paulina, when in "The Winter's Tale," II, 2, she fails to persuade him to give up his foolish jealousy of his wife and recognize her child as his, Leontes calls her:

"a callat,
Of boundless tongue, who late hath beat her husband
And now baits me—"

The force of the manifest play on the words *beat* and *baits* would have been entirely lost only that the two diphthongs were sounded in the same way.

There are other very striking examples of this same pronunciation of *ea* as long *a* to be found in Shakespeare. Unless the pronunciation in this way be known much of the humor of the passages is lost. For instance when in the first part of King Henry IV Shakespeare has Falstaff say to Prince Hal, "Give you a reason on compulsion! If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a rea-

son upon compulsion," a very great deal of the humor is lost unless one recalls that Falstaff pronounced *reasons* exactly as if they were *raisins*. What Jack said then was, "If *raisins* were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason (*raisin*) upon compulsion."

In Mr. Ellis' table of vowel and diphthongal pronunciations in Shakespeare, as quoted in Fleay's "Manual of Shakespeare," *ea* is said to have been pronounced commonly in the time of the dramatist as *a* in *mare,* rarely as *e* in *eve,* very rarely as *a* in the French word *chatte,* and occasionally as *e* in *met*. With regard to *ei* Mr. Ellis says that it is usually pronounced as *ey* in *they* or as *a* in *mare,* and only rarely as *ay* (*eye*). To revert to *ea,* there are of course two vowels in it, and the question that has always disturbed pronunciation has been which of these should predominate. Long ago the *a* predominated, and even at the present time the *a* sound is much more heard than is the *e*. For instance, in such words as *heart* and *hearth* the *a* is persistently maintained. During the seventeenth century the rules for pronunciation were quite unsettled, but the tendency was rather to emphasis on the broader vowel sounds than on the slenderer ones. Fleay says, "The fact of the matter is that especially during the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century the English pronunciation was less fixed than almost at any other time in its history." Spelling also was very uncertain, and men spelled and pronounced with no idea of follow-

ing rules, but quite satisfied if only they were understood. There are some among us at the present time who might sigh for that precious era when one could pronounce as one pleased and spell as one pronounced.

The Irish pronunciation of *ou* in many words appears to many hopelessly degenerate or at least dialectic. When an Irishman says *soul* as if it were spelled *sowl* it seems sure to most English-speaking people of our time, that he has perverted a good English pronunciation into an almost unspeakable Gaelicism. It will be all the more surprising then to find that he has really only conserved the old-fashioned English pronunciation, not only of Shakespeare's time, but of centuries before and after. In Elizabeth's and James' time the word was actually spelled *sowl*. Orthoepy and orthography had many more direct relations then than they have now, and the sound of a word often influenced its spelling away from its etymology. There are many words in English of the present day, however, in which *ou* is pronounced as the Irishman pronounces it when he says *sowl*. The very words *pronounce* and *sound* furnish typical examples. For a long time the word *wound* was dubious and the poets at least by poetic license used it to rhyme with *ground* and *found*. It is only a century and half ago since this pronounciation, even in ordinary speech, began to be antiquated. We still talk about a *rout* though most of us cling to the French pronounciation for *route* in spite of the fact that Walker, over a century ago, declared

that this word was often pronounced so as to rhyme with *doubt,* "by respectable speakers." The Irish pronunciation *sowl* seems very queer so long as we do not think of these words and of such others as *our, flour, hour, out, about, scout* and all the other frequently used words of similar sound that might be so readily mentioned. As a matter of fact, when the Irishman says *sowl,* he is only following a usage that has very few exceptions.

Indeed most of these exceptions are comparatively recent. Lounsbury, in his "English Spelling and Spelling Reform," after discussing *wound* and *route,* says (p. 155):

"A far more interesting case is that of *pour.* The majority of eighteenth century orthoepists—Johnston, Kenrick, Perry, Smith and Walker—pronounced the word so as to rhyme with *power.* Spenser so employed it. So did Pope, more than a century later. In the only two instances he uses the word in his regular poetry at the end of a line it has this sound. In his 'Messiah' occurs the following couplet:

'Ye Heavens! from high the dewy nectar pour:
And in soft silence shed the kindly shower.'

Walker, indeed, declared unreservedly that the best pronounciation of it is 'that similar to power.' Nares alone among eighteenth century orthoepists seems to have upheld what is now the customary pronunciation; yet even here the authority of some of the greatest of modern poets has been occasionally cast in favor of the once accepted sound. In

his poem of 'The Poet's Mind' Tennyson, for instance, writes:

'Holy water will I pour
Into every spicy flower.' "

Tour is another word of the same combination of letters that has had similar vicissitudes. Many will doubtless remember a time not so very long ago when it was the custom for bride and groom to fare forth on their wedding tour (*tower*). They still do so in the country places and the *mouths* of their Irish friends. The pronunciation of *oo is* another peculiarity of Irish speech that undoubtedly makes many people have the feeling that there must be a congenital or inherited difficulty of rendering the sounds of the letter *o* properly by the Irish. I shall never forget once giving an address on this subject of the Irish brogue as Shakespeare's English before a group of principals and superintendents of schools. After the address among others a lady principal from New England came up to assure me how deeply she had been interested in what I had said. She said that she had never thought of this before and that it was a very great surprise to her. There was one difficulty that she had however that she would like to have solved. "Why, oh why, do the Irish pronounce *door* and *floor* with a sort of *u* sound, making them *dur* and *flur* instead of with the long *o* sound making them *dore* and *flore?*" I replied that I must ask her to remember that it was considered to be the privilege of an Irishman to

answer a question by asking another, so I hoped that she would not mind if I should ask her how did she pronounce *moor* and *poor*. I hoped that she did not call them *more* and *pore*. She assured me somewhat startled by my question that she did not, but that of course her pronunciation was exactly the same as that which the Irishman uses for *door* and *floor*.

I then ventured to ask her how she pronounced moon and boon and coon and loon and soon and noon and loom and room and boom and broom and croon and boot and moot and root and toot and soot and loot and coot and cootie, and practically every other *oo* in the English language. *Door* and *floor* have come to be pronounced with the long sound of *o* instead of the short *u* sound only during this last few generations by a very great exception to whatever of rule there is in English pronunciation. An Irishman does not take exceptions that are as recent as that and so he follows the good old rule in the matter. He is in a conservative *mood* and so door and floor are pronounced with the same sound as he gives to gloom and groom and ever so many other words.

With regard to the Irish pronunciation of the consonants, practically the same thing is found to be true as for the vowels and diphthongs. Certain consonantal differences in Irish English, that are usually set down as due to ignorance or at least to provincialism, are really vestiges of the Shakespearean pronunciation of English. The most prom-

inent of these are concerned with the addition or the suppression of *h* in the middle and end of words. The Irish have very little difficulty with *h* at the beginning of words. They occasionally drop it in the middle of words or at the end, while occasionally they insert it following a *t* or a *d* where it does not not exist. A typical example is *murther* for murder, and another *shoulther* for *shoulder*. For this usage there is excellent warrant in Shakespeare, and it is generally conceded that this was the accepted pronunciation in Elizabeth's and James' time. For certain omissions, as for instance in the word *nothing,* often pronounced *nawtin* by those of the Irish who have most faithfully preserved the old-time pronunciation and who have most of the brogue, there is also justification in the old time. Without some such suppression of the *h* the pun that is well known to occur in the title of Shakespeare's "Much Ado About Nothing" which is also Much Ado About Noting (*i.e.,* Hero's actions), would be lost.

At the end of words the omission of *h* is well illustrated in the familiar Irish expression "the old earth," which means the old land, a term that is often affectionately used by the Irish in speaking of their native land. One old Irishwoman refused to believe that she could go to heaven in happiness unless the road thither led through what in her pronunciation seemed to be "the owl dart." Her expression illustrates a number of phases of Elizabethan pronunciation. In the first place the *o* of *old* was pronounced *ow,* as in *how* for *o* was very un-

settled in its pronunciation, and before *ld* usually took this *ow* sound. Richard Grant White, for instance, does not hesitate to say that *soldier* was pronounced *sowldjer* at this time. Secondly, when two consonants occurred at the end of a word and the next word began with a vowel sound, in old-fashioned speech the final consonant was carried over to the next word, so that it was rather hard for one unused to the language to recognize just where the division of words really was. This has made this colloquial expression *"the owl dart"* a puzzle to even many of the Irish themselves. As for the pronunciation of *earth* as *art,* it is only an example of the *a* sound predominating, as in *heart,* and the final *h* is suppressed. This suppression of final *h* was rather common among the Irish, who, for example, said and still say *wid* for *with,* and even *widout* for *without.*

Another consonant that is often suppressed by the Irish is the *l* in certain words. An Irishman is likely to say, "Well, it is your own faut." In this, however, he is following the genius of the language rather than modern customs. There are many words in which *l* is thus suppressed normally in English, and Professor Lounsbury notes that in such words as *half, folk, calm,* and *walk,* as indeed practically whenever *l* is followed by *f, k,* or *m,* it is suppressed. Everybody suppressed it in *fault* until the end of the eighteenth century. As a matter of fact, the *l* had been originally absent from the spelling, for our word came to us directly from the French

faute. During the seventeenth century the *l* was adopted into our spelling, but did not get into our pronunciation for a full century later. Pope and Swift regularly rhymed it with words like *ought,* and *brought,* and *thought,* and *taught.* Even so recently as Dr. Goldsmith's time we find such rhymes in the "Deserted Village" (1770) as *ought* and *fault,* and at that time it was probably a perfect rhyme. Samuel Johnson in his dictionary says that (in his time) "the *l* is sometimes sounded and sometimes not. In conversation it is generally suppressed."

There is another interesting feature of the pronunciation of English by the Irish which recalls the changes that have taken place in the vocalization of our English speech as a consequence of certain changes in the habits of many people in our more matter-of-fact modern times. There is a distinct tendency of late years to throw the accent back as far as possible in the pronunciation of long English words, thus making it more and more difficult to use the language to advantage in public speaking. Oratory has gone out of fashion among most of the English-speaking people, and this is doubtless the principal reason for the ready acquiescence in the unfortunate habit of placing the accent far from the ends of words, which makes it so trying to the public speaker to secure the ready hearing, at a distance, of the final syllables. The Irishman is still a born orator, however, and so he has not yielded to any great extent to this tendency. He still accents

many words on the penultimate syllable which we Americans and the English accent on the antepenultimate. In so doing, however, the Irishman is maintaining the old-fashioned pronunciation. He says *contráry,* of course, but so did Shakespeare.

The Irishman says *demónstrate* and *contémplate,* but he also accentuates the penult in cases where most of us are accustomed to hear and to use the antepenultimate accentuation. It must not be forgotten that in this case he is following the old-time method of pronunciation. There are some very surprising things to be found in this matter. Professor Lounsbury calls attention to what the poet Rogers had to say with regard to the throwing back of the accent in these long words. Few men were better situated than Rogers to know how the intellectual people of England pronounced their own language. He held open table every Saturday in London and practically all of the wits and writers who were in London at the time assembled for the function so that Rogers was familiarly acquainted with them. He was quite indignant over the antepenultimate accentuation in words that now seem to us almost impossible of pronunciation any other way. He said: "The now fashionable pronunciation of several words is to me, at least, offensive; *cóntemplate* is bad enough, but *bálcony* makes me sick." Rogers pronounced the word *balcóny,* making the *o* long. Professor Lounsbury adds: "At the present time it would produce a similar nauseating effect upon many to hear the accent fall upon the

second syllable of this last word, as was once the usual practice." Rogers' expression, however, should form ample justification for the Irishmen who insist on clinging to the accent on the penult in so many words, though words pronounced in that way, such as *magístrate, certificate, interpréter,* are quite as disturbing to many as Rogers' *balcóny.* The oratorical effectiveness of such placing of accents can be seen very well in the vocal difference between *prédatory* and *predátory* with the long sound of *a* emphasized. Try it in Roosevelt's expression *predátory* wealth and see how the Irish mode of pronunciation adds to oratorical effectiveness!

The Irish have some rather interesting peculiarities in the use of verbs, which, like everything else in their speech, are prone to be considered stigmata of degeneration, at least, if not worse. These peculiarly Irish verbs and favorite Irish forms of verbs are really representatives of good old English expressions. Most unsophisticated Irishmen will use the expression *afeared* instead of *afraid,* though contact with English-speaking people of other countries soon diverts them from it because of the ridicule that attaches to its use. *Afeared* is, however, the most familiar form of the verb meaning "to be afraid" extant in Shakespeare's time.

I have heard a dear old Irish priest criticised as ignorant for saying that he was *afeared.* His critics were quite sure that it was ignorance. For them *afeared* was a degenerate form of *afraid* that had been manufactured by the rude speech organs of

ignorant Irish people who knew nothing of the genius of the language. Shakespeare, however, uses the form *afeared* no less than thirty times. It occurs in his labored and perfect plays like "The Tempest," in his Roman plays as "Julius Caesar," in the melodramas at the end of his career as in "Cymbeline," as well as in the English history plays and "Midsummer Night" and "Romeo and Juliet" at the beginning of his career. *Afraid* is used more frequently but not much more frequently. Indeed it seems likely that there was no distinction between the words and that the particular form of the spelling depended on the typesetter. *Afraid* was just coming in. *Afeared* had been the older form. The question itself is of little importance, but what is important to realize is that it is extremely dangerous to criticise the use of English expressions unless one knows something about their origin. The Irish priest criticised for ignorance was using a fine classical form of the verb. He was doing so because that was the form he had heard used in his boyhood, and it so happened that his environment was an excellent preservative of the genius of the language.

When an Irishman says *forninst* most people are very sure that he is using a Gaelicism or at least a degraded form of English speech. As a matter of fact he is using a fine old-fashioned English preposition, written in old times *forenenst* and still very commonly employed in Scotch and English dialects as well as by the Irish. The word was formed from the two parts *fore* and *anent,* meaning over against

or opposite to. The Century Dictionary quotes from the "Acts of James VI" of Scotland, who was afterwards James I of England,—in time the last decade of the sixteenth century, *"utheris* inhabiting the *bordouris fore-anent* England." (Scotch dialect for "others inhabiting the borders" etc.) When Fairfax published his translation of Tasso, he translated one line:

"The land forenenst the Greekish shore he held."

Of course the Irishman pronounces his short *e's* like *i's* whether it be in *yis* and *yit* or in *pretty* or *women* or other words, because that is the old fashion. He also shortens the *o* so that it sounds not unlike short *u,* and accordingly we have *furninst.* It is really an expressive word and one for which we have no exact equivalent.

The same thing is true of a number of other Irish words which are not so familiar. A very common expression among the Irish is, "It is mizzling" meaning that it is drizzling. The verb *to mizzle* is a good English word that was in very common use two centuries ago.

There are certain tense forms employed almost exclusively by the Irish now, so that they are supposed to be characteristically Gaelic, though they really represent fossil forms of English tenses no longer in common use. Some of them, indeed, are very significantly expressive, so that it is too bad that they have been allowed to drop out of usage, because they helped to express shades of meaning

which otherwise demand roundabout phrasing. A single example will suffice to show what we mean. How often has it not been said in academic circles that we have no equivalent for the Greek aorist, and how often has this poverty of tense expression in English not been deplored. This tense deficiency is, however, true only as far as English English goes. In Irish English the lack is not felt. Anyone who has ever tried translating most of the forms of the Greek aorist after the model of the Irish expressions, "I am after doing it"—with the curious present sense that the aorist sometimes has—or, "I was after doing it," or, for certain aorist forms that have a future quality, "I will be after doing so and so," will usually find that he has a better equivalent for the Greek meaning than can be obtained by any other circumlocution, however studied it may be.

The Irish enjoy certain distinctions with regard to the use of auxiliaries as well as of verbs themselves that are worth while tracing to their historical source, because the investigation makes it clear that it is not because of any fault that their usage is different, except in so far as the clinging to old-fashioned forms, which were eminently correct in their day, can be attributed to them as a fault. For instance, there is a rather well-grounded impression that Irishmen find it much more difficult to maintain the correct usage of *shall* and *will* than do most other English-speaking peoples. According to one well-known anecdote, all of the London papers are edited by young Irishmen, only an Englishman must

be kept on the staff "in order to keep the *shalls* and *wills* straight." Now it so happens that if Shakespeare himself were to be brought before the bar of a modern strict grammarian he would probably be found guilty on many counts in this matter. The present usage of *shall* and *will* had not as yet developed at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Shakespeare was writing English and the Irish were learning the language. Our greatest of writers, then, does not follow the rules which were only made after his time, and most Irishmen still talk Shakespeare's English in this as in other particulars.

In the same way, many other words that are supposed to be characteristically Irish corruptions, introduced into English by the failure of the uneducated Irish tongue to get around the peculiarities of English words, prove on closer examination to be irreproachable old English. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this, though a great many might readily be given. Most Irishmen, for instance, say *drouth,* and not *drought,* which is now the more generally accepted English word for thirst or for a season of dry weather. The Century Dictionary notes, however, that *drouth* is etymologically the more correct spelling. *Heft* is a word which is sometimes thought to be an Irishism. English-speaking people, as a rule, in England itself or in America, talk of the weight of a thing rather than the heft of a thing, but *heft* is good English and has an excellent warrant in etymology. An Irishman

will sometimes talk of taking a man by the *thrapple,* or *thropple,* instead of throat. *Thrapple* is a good old Anglo-Saxon expression, and is much nearer to the old word *throat-boll,* the prominent part of the throat, than our modern mutilation which employs the first syllable. *Throte-bolle* is to be found in Chaucer in the "Reeve's Tale," showing the comparative antiquity of the original form of the expression in that "well of English undefiled."

Not infrequently one finds that where there are silent letters in English pronunciation the Irish introduce a sound which shows that the letter is not entirely silent for them and that in the olden time very probably some hint of it, at least, was allowed to manifest itself. Ordinarily these pronunciations are supposed to be vulgarisms, but they are much more likely to be reversions to old modes of pronunciation, and it is certainly interesting to consider them as such. For instance Irish people are prone to say "I was *frikened*" for I was frightened. The *k* sound is evidently out of deference to the presence of the *g* which is now silent, but apparently was not in the olden time. Much less frequently I have heard the sound, though I am sure I *have* heard it in the word brighten. Irish servant maids often say "I was *brikening* the stove," or something very nearly resembling that in sound, in place of the more familiar word polishing.

There are many other curious pronunciations often thought in our day to be typically Irish or at least provincial, which prove on investigation to be

remnants of old-time generally accepted pronunciations. I have heard Irish people call onions *innians* and have heard them criticised as ignorant for doing so. According to Professor Lounsbury in "The Standard of Pronunciation in English," we learn from a treatise of the lexicographer Bailey published in 1726 that a then common and an apparently fully authorized pronunciation of onion was *innian.* Lounsbury adds, "This has lasted down to the present day; but long before Walker's time it had fallen, save in Ireland, from its high estate." A few Irish still talk of the cucumber as *cowcumber,* and many of them talk of asparagus as *sparrow-grass.* This last is, of course, merely a corruption for the genuine asparagus. Even as late as Walker's time, however, that English lexicographer regretted that the pronunciation of cucumber "seems too firmly fixed in the sound of *cowcumber* to be altered." While of *sparrow-grass* he said that "the corrupted form is so generally used that to employ the proper term asparagus now has an air of stiffness and pedantry."

Certain words that occur frequently in the mouths of the Irish, much more frequently than their use by others who talk English would seem to justify, prove to have an interesting history when investigated. Irishmen use *again* much more commonly than most people, and this is usually set down as an Irishism, a corruption of proper English. It is, on the contrary, a reversion to the best days of Elizabethan and Jacobean English, as may be readily illustrated by quotations from the writers of these

periods. Ben Jonson, in "Every Man Out of His Humour," says: "Bid your fellows get all their flails ready again I come," using an expression that now seems almost hopelessly Gaelic. Lord Bacon frequently says, "As much or as many again," "Half as much again," and similar phrases. Anyone who thinks that the frequent use of this word by the Irish is at all due to any influence of theirs, or indeed to anything else than their preservation of the modes of English taught them in Shakespeare's time, need only look up the word *again* in a Shakespeare concordance, and see how many times and in how many different ways the great English "master of them that know" has employed it. In "Bartlett's Concordance" it will be found to occur altogether some five hundred times.

Since we are talking of the peculiar use of *again* as an adverb, which now seems to many to be a hopeless Irishism, it will be as well to take up the other sense of the word in which it is used as a preposition. The word is very rarely so employed now by English-speaking people in England or in this country, though it is very commonly used in this way by the Irish. What more familiar expression among them, for example than "He fought agin us," the *i* rather than the *a* being emphasized in the pronunciation? The almost universally used form of the preposition "against" is practically never employed by them. The Irishism is, however, actually purer speech than that which has taken its place. Prepositions ending in *st,* such as

against, amidst, amongst, Professor Lounsbury notes, are corrupt forms that have crept into use in spite of the protests of the educated and the guardians of language. Some claim of euphony, real or supposed, in the terminal consonants *st* has enabled them to subsist. These words belong in the same etymological category as *onest*—if that is the spelling by which the familiar colloquial sound *wonst,* for *once,* may be conveyed. This latter is frankly recognized as a vulgarism. Its recent popularity seems to portend, however, that it will become in time that nondescript thing, good English, as its analogue *against* and other similar words have become. Doubtless even then the Irish peasant, especially from the country districts, will cling to the more correct form *once* as he has done with regard to *again,* and will very probably be laughed at for his conservatism—which will perhaps be stigmatized as ignorance or incapacity.

The Irishman was the original spelling reformer, at least so far as pronunciation goes, if that is not an Irish bull. An Irishman says that he was "kilt entirely" and that he *leapt* and *knockt* and *stopt* and *tost.* Those are likely to appear dialectic to the purists who oppose spelling reform, but it is very evident from the early editions of Shakespeare that such pronunciations and spellings represent the custom in his time and Professor Lounsbury points out that Spenser particularly took advanced ground in this matter and knockt, lept, lookt, nurst, pusht, stopt, and tost are to be found in a single canto.

These look as unfamiliar in print as the Irish pronunciations of them sometimes seem unfamiliar because of the clear-cut way an Irishman says them. Slept and felt look all right and sound all right because we have grown accustomed to them. "Feeled" and "sleeped" would now be a shock. Doubtless a time will come when we shall revert to the simpler forms of spelling and pronunciation in this class of words which they had in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period and which the Irishman has preserved as faithfully as he has preserved so many other old-time forms of speech.

It is evident, I think, from what I have said, that the Irish brogue, far from being a degeneration of language or a token of ignorance, as it is so often presumed to be, is really only a nice exhibition of a clinging to old-fashioned ways and modes of speech, all the more admirable because clinging to anything old, no matter how good it may be, is so rare in our day. The term brogue is said to come as I have said earlier in this chapter from the word used for the coarse shoes worn by the Irish peasantry. Their dialect, like their shoes, was supposed to be rough and suited only for themselves, a thing by itself that no one with any sense of propriety could be expected ever to use. Instead of this it proves to be fine old-fashioned English, somewhat out of date, it is true, but not the less interesting for that. It is like a good old pair of hand-made shoes which its owner may cling to even though they are unfashionable, because there is so much of comfort in them,

and it is bothersome to adapt oneself to the new-fangled ideas in footwear. While the many changes have been occurring in our English speech, the Irish have gone on enjoying the privilege of using the old form and preserving it for future generations to study to the life.

When the Wife of Bath in Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" is represented as talking with something of a brogue, many people of the modern time are inclined to think that this must be because characters such as she, when put upon our modern stage, are almost invariably represented as using this broad pronunciation. There is a much better reason than this, however. It is probable that this mode of speech reproduces, more closely than any other that could well be devised, the actual fashion of talk of herself and the company. It should not be limited to her, moreover, but all the others should also have a touch of brogue.

If Shakespeare were to come back to us talking as he did in his own time, his speech, not only in pronunciation, but in many more essential characters, would be better represented by what we know as the Irish brogue than in any other way.

APPENDIX II

Irish Initiative and Inventive Genius

A NUMBER of people will doubtless be inclined to suggest that it is too bad that the marvelous initiative which the Irish possessed in the centuries from the fifth to the tenth and which enabled them to accomplish so many things that had never been done before and gave them an undying place in the history of civilization, should not have preserved this racial energy for the modern time. As a matter of fact however a great deal of what is best and most novel in our American life owes its beginning to the energy of the Irish.

In his article on the Irish in the United States in the volume "The Glories of Ireland," Michael J. O'Brien, the historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, gives a list of some of the accomplishments, for example of the Irish in journalism in this country, that should surely have made journalists realize something of the prestige of the Irish in this important department of American life.

"In the field of American journalism there have been many able and forcible writers of Irish birth or descent. Hugh Gaine, a Belfast man, founded the New York 'Mercury' in 1775. John Dunlap founded the first daily paper in Philadelphia, John Daly Burk published the first daily paper in Boston, and Wil-

liam Duane edited the 'Aurora' of Philadelphia in 1795. All these were born in Ireland. William Coleman, founder of the New York 'Evening Post' in 1801, was the son of an Irish rebel of 1798; Thomas Fitzgerald founded the Philadelphia 'Item'; Thomas Gill, the New York 'Evening Star'; Patrick Walsh, the Augusta 'Chronicle'; Joseph Medill, the Chicago 'Tribune.' Henry W. Grady edited the Atlanta 'Constitution'; Michael Dee edited the Detroit 'Evening News' for nearly fifty years; Richard Smith, the Cincinnati 'Gazette'; Edward L. Godkin, the New York 'Evening Post'; William Laffan, the New York 'Sun'; and Horace Greeley, the New York 'Tribune.' All of these were either natives of Ireland or sprung from immigrant Irishmen, as were Oliver of the Pittsburgh 'Gazette'; O'Neill of the Pittsburgh 'Despatch'; John Keating of Memphis, William D. O'Connor, and many other shining lights of American journalism during the last century."

A type of Irish initiative that was very valuable for our country at the beginning of its history is illustrated by the career of Christopher Colles. After having made a series of suggestions with regard to inland navigation in Ireland so that he received the appointment of Director of the Inland Navigation of the Shannon in the '60's of the eighteenth century, he proposed also to establish navigation from Kilkenny to the sea. His work attracted attention but there was not money enough available in Ireland and so he came to this country. We owe to him here the first outline of a project for

the building of the Erie Canal. De Witt Clinton to whom the credit for the construction of the Erie Canal is usually given, has acknowledged the priority of Colles so far as the plan is concerned. Colles was also the first to propose and erect a water supply system for New York City and studied out and solved the engineering difficulties connected with it. He also has the distinction of having compiled and published the first road book in the United States. In the Preface he says:

"A traveler will here find so plain and circumstantial a description of the road that whilst he has the draft with him it will be impossible for him to miss the way."

Probably nothing illustrates better the initiative of the Irish race than the place that Irishman have taken in the development of the application of electricity to the facilitation of life and commerce. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, was the grandson of an Irishman, as was Henry O'Reilly who built the first telegraph line in the United States. The rival system to The Western Union, The Postal Telegraph, which finds its best advertisement in calling attention to the improvement in facilities in the use of the telegraph which it has brought about, was built up mainly by John W. Mackay, an Irishman. It was he who linked telegraph and cable systems together. Theodore Vail, to whose development the Bell telephone system owes more than to any other, and Carty, chief engineer of that system,

are both Irishmen. It was an Irishman, William Thompson, afterwards Lord Kelvin, who did more than any other to bring about the success of the Atlantic cable, and it was for this he was ennobled. Marconi, who did more than any other to make wireless telegraphy and telephony possible and prepared the way for the present day radio, was the son of an Irish mother, of the noble house of Inchiquin.

There are many other Irishmen whose inventive genius has meant much for the modern world. For instance the inventor of the submarine boat was John P. Holland, a native of County Clare, Ireland, and he devoted his life to the purpose of making submarine warfare possible, mainly because he felt that this would undermine the prestige of the great naval armament of Great Britain and thus help toward Ireland's freedom. There was a time during the Great War when it looked as though the inventor's idea might be actualized very literally. McCormick, the inventor of the reaping and mowing machine which has revolutionized farming and has meant so much for the great farms not only of our own west and of Canada but also of Russia and South America, was an Irishman's grandson. John Keating, the first paper manufacturer in New York, 1775, was an Irishman born; Thomas Fay, the first to manufacture wallpaper by machinery, was another. He received the first gold medal of the American Institute for his successful endeavor in this regard. Michael J. O'Brien in his article on The Irish in the United States already cited, says:

"Irishmen have shown a remarkable aptitude for the handling of large contracts, and in this field have been prominent John H. O'Rourke, James D. Leary, James Coleman, Oliver Byrne, and John D. Crimmins in New York; John B. McDonald, the builder of New York's subways; George Law, projector and promoter of public works, steamship and railroad builder; and John Roach, the famous ship-builder of Chester, Pa. John Sullivan, a noted American engineer one hundred years ago, completed the Middlesex Canal; and John McL. Murphy, whose ability as a constructing engineer was universally recognized, rendered valuable service to the United States during the Civil War. Among pioneer ship-builders in America are noted Patrick Tracy from Wexford and Simon Forrester from Cork, who were both at Salem, Mass., during the period of the Revolution and rendered most valuable service to the patriot cause; and the O'Briens, Kavanaghs, and Sewalls in Maine."

The same writer, O'Brien, who has devoted more time and labor to the collection of materials with regard to the Irish in the United States than any other and who in the course of his researches has read a great many of the old manuscript records of towns and counties and states, has reminded us that it is not in the material and practical things of life alone that the Irish have been leaders in the progress of civilization here in the United States. In a single paragraph he sums up some of the things that the Irish have done with their new found freedom in America in achieving wonderful results in the arts.

"Thousands of Americans have been charmed by the operas of Victor Herbert, a grandson of Samuel Lover, and with lovers of music the strains of Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore's band still linger as a pleasant memory. Edward A. MacDowell, America's most famous composer, was of Irish descent. The colossal statue of 'America' on the dome of the National Capital was executed by Thomas Crawford, who was born in New York of Irish parents in 1814; Henry Inman, one of the very best of portrait painters, was also born in New York of Irish parents; John Singleton Copley, the distinguished artist, came to Boston from Co. Clare in 1736; Thompson, the sculptor, was born in Queen's Co.; another noted sculptor was William D. O'Donovan of Virginia; and Augustus Saint Gaudens, one of the greatest sculptors of modern times, was born in Dublin of an Irish mother to whom he was devoted and a French father. Other sculptors of Irish race have been elsewhere mentioned. Among America's most talented artists and portrait painters may be mentioned George P. Healy, William J. Hennessy, Thomas Moran, Henry Pelham, Henry Murray, John Neagle, and William Magrath, all of Irish birth or descent."

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States absorbed a great many of the Irish men of great intellectual power and fine character, during the nearly hundred and fifty years since its foundation. Six of our seven American cardinals, McCloskey, Gibbons, Farley, O'Connell, Dougherty, Hayes, are among the self-made men in America

who have deeply influenced their generations and who have exemplified very well that life maxim of the great souled Cardinal Mercier, "The ideal is not a dream, but your practical duties of every day." They were self-made Americans but in contrast to the leaders of commerce and industry, they "made good" for the sake of spiritual and eternal realities. The archbishops of the country have all been men head and shoulders above the mass of men, with hearts as well as heads trained to see life and see it whole. Such men as Archbishop Carroll, Hughes, the Kenricks, Ireland, Ryan, Riordan, Quigley, and Keane and Kain, were all men who were great churchmen but also great citizens. They were as deeply intent on the happiness of their countrymen as on the devoutness of their flocks.

O'Brien notes in his article "The Irish in the United States":

"History has given to an Irishman, Francis Mackenzie of Donegal, the credit of founding Presbyterianism in America, while among noted Presbyterian divines of Irish birth were James Waddell, known as 'the blind preacher of the wilderness,' Thomas Smyth, John Hall, Francis Allison, William Tennant, and James McGrady, all men of great ability and influence in their day. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College in 1761, was a native of Armagh, and John Blair Smith, famous as a preacher throughout the Shenandoah Valley and the first president of Union College (1795) was of Irish descent. Among the pioneer preachers of the

western wilderness were McMahon, Dougherty, Quinn, Burke, O'Cool, Delaney, McGee, and many others of Irish origin."

From the beginning of our existence as an independent country we have had a number of distinguished physicians of Irish birth or descent who have done noteworthy service for the people of the United States and their own profession. During the Revolution among the army surgeons in the service of the colonies, are found men with such names as McCalla, McDonough, McCloskey, McHenry, Irvine, Burke and Williamson. Dr. John Cochran, another Irish surgeon, was appointed by Washington surgeon general of the army. Dr. James Lynch of Charleston, a native of Ireland, was appointed to the official position of surgeon general of the state of South Carolina in recognition of the very valuable services that he had given to the military forces. Dr. James McKinlay, another native of Ireland, and famous physician in his day, was elected as the first governor of Delaware after the adoption of the Constitution.

One of the earliest and most important of our scientific physicians in America was Dr. William J. MacNeven who had to leave Ireland because of his connection with the '98 rebellion. He became one of the professors at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York and one of the most prominent teachers of medicine in this country. He translated a work on chemistry from the French and

himself made important contributions to the theory of chemistry so that he is often spoken of as the "Father of American Chemistry." It was in the specialty of gynecology however, the department of women's diseases, that Irishmen reached very high distinction and stamped their names on the specialty in such a way that they will never be forgotten. Until two generations ago women's ills were many and it was rather concluded that they had to suffer and that that was part of the heritage of the race. A series of distinguished physicians and surgeons working here in America changed all that. Dr. Ephraim McDowell of Kentucky performed the first ovariotomy, dared to do it on a kitchen table in an ordinary country house and succeeded in demonstrating that great good might be thus accomplished, much suffering saved and even processes that might prove ultimately fatal prevented. The next of the great Irish American gynecologists was Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet to whom the world owes a very great deal for his plastic operations which did so much to correct defects of various kinds that had occurred as a consequence of disturbed birth processes. The third of them was Dr. John Byrne of Brooklyn whose contributions to gynecology gave him a reputation all over the world and who tackled the problem of the radical operation for cancer more straightforwardly than any other. He was not able to accomplish all that he hoped and planned but he boldly pointed out the way that must be followed if

cancer is to be kept from carrying off so many people as it does.

Irish Americans have particularly distinguished themselves in surgery. One of the most distinguished of the surgical contributors to gynecology is Dr. Howard A. Kelly who first at the University of Pennsylvania and afterwards at Johns Hopkins has been one of the leading surgical teachers of the country. In New York Dr. Charles McBurney was probably more responsible for the proper surgical solution of the treatment of appendicitis than any other though his work was magnificently followed up by his Philadelphia colleague of Irish descent, Dr. John Deaver, who did so much to make the operation for appendicitis generally available throughout the country. The most important surgeon of the twentieth century was undoubtedly Dr. John B. Murphy of Chicago. His English colleague who knew him very well, Dr. Berkeley Moynihan, in his memorial address, the first annual Murphy oration, went so far as to say that very probably Dr. Murphy was the greatest surgeon who had lived anywhere in the world during the last three hundred years. Dr. Moynihan prefaced his remarks by reviewing the history of surgery for the past three centuries in order to demonstrate that he thoroughly understood just what prestige he was attributing to Dr. Murphy.

Very probably the most important invention for the relief of human suffering and the saving of human life made during the nineteenth century was the process of intubation for stenosis of the larynx

worked out by Dr. Joseph O'Dwyer of New York. He saw the little children in the New York Foundling Asylum being carried off by suffocation when they suffered from laryngeal diphtheria and he worked for years to find some method of relieving the stenosis and saving the lives of the children. His colleagues laughed at him and assured him that he was following a will-o-the-wisp and that it would be futile to think of the human larynx tolerating a foreign body such as a tube. Dr. O'Dwyer went on with his experiments and observations making dissections on the bodies of the little dead patients, making experiments on animals, until finally he was able to demonstrate that the larynx would retain a tube and that this would prevent suffocation. He then proceeded to invent instruments by which the tube could be put in place and could be taken out whenever that was needed. The discovery of diphtheria antitoxin did away with the necessity of using the tube so often as before but it still remains intensely valuable. Dr. O'Dwyer himself was one of those who most encouraged the introduction of diphtheria serum.

The Irish crop up as pathfinders in many departments of thought. An important Irish pioneer is the famous "Humanity" Martin, to follow the nickname that the Irish, so prone to use nicknames, gave him, who was the first to suggest that there should be a law prohibiting cruelty to animals. Seumas MacManus in his article (*Catholic World*, July, 1926) on "A City Quaint" by which he means the city of Galway which still has many of the quaint traditions

of an old medieval town about it, tells us of this well known inhabitant of Galway. He braved all the torrents of ridicule of that day and

"introduced into the Irish Parliament the first bill the world ever heard of for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and despite the sharp shafts of all the wits and half-wits of the day, and despite the lack of support from even his dearest friends and from the noblest minds, pressed his fight day after day, and year after year, till, at length, he silenced the ridicule, tired down the opposition, carried his point, and put on the statute books the first law for the prevention of cruelty to animals."

I have recently called attention to the fact that one of the earliest pioneers, if not the very earliest, in the sciences of paleontology and archaeological anthropology, was a young Irish priest who over one hundred years ago made his way into the caverns of South Devon in England and unearthed some very significant specimens. He suggested the scientific meaning of them but no one would believe him. Sir Arthur Keith, the distinguished British anthropologist, who is probably considered to know more about the subject than anyone else in the British Isles, told recently in the Magazine Section of the *New York Times,* Sunday, April 25, 1926, the story of Father MacEnery's work. He does not hesitate to say that the first clues to the existence of man as a contemporary of the long extinct animals, the hairy mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the

cave bear and the sabre-toothed tiger and the reindeer in southern England at a time when evidently the Ice Age was not as yet concluded, were found by this young Irish priest. I wrote a sketch of him and his work for the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (July, 1926). That he recognized the scientific value of his own work is evident from the fact that he presented a series of fossils to various museums, London, Paris, York, Torquay, and he wrote descriptions and made pictures of them. His work was appreciated so thoroughly in France that he was elected a member of the *Société Géologique de France* and his name and ideas are cited in the volume, *Osteographie* by Professor de Blainville. He was also made a member of the English Society of Geologists.

This work was undertaken by Father MacEnery at his own expense and was carried on in spite of all sorts of discouragement on the part of those who were most deeply interested in scientific subjects. The good priest actually risked his life on a number of occasions while exploring these caverns for the only lights that he could carry with him were very inefficient and more than once he slipped down into unexpected holes and slippery passages and once at least was overcome to a considerable extent by carbon dioxide gas and was only rescued by a faithful companion (by the name of Walsh) who at great risk to himself succeeded in getting him out of danger. The damp and draughty air of the caves probably exacerbated respiratory conditions from which

Father MacEnery was suffering, so that at the end of several years he had to give up his explorations and spend some time on vacation for the benefit of his health. He returned to continue his investigations but died at the early age of forty-one probably as the result of exposing himself to the insalubrious conditions of these caves which contained the specimens in which he was so much interested.

In the article on "The Irish in Canada" written for the volume "The Glories of Ireland" (Washington, 1914), I told the story of a number of Irishmen who were leaders of thought and achievement in the American Dominion. Among the Fathers of Confederation, that movement which did so much for the Canadian people, there were several distinguished Irishmen. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was the best known and probably did more than any other Canadian to make the idea of confederation popular by his writings and speeches. He had come to Canada as a stranger, edited a newspaper in Montreal, and was elected to the Assembly after a brief residence; in spite of the opposition cries of "Irish adventurer" and "stranger from abroad," he was subsequently elected four times by acclamation, and was Minister of Agriculture and Education and Canadian Commissioner to the Paris Exposition of 1867. His letters to the Earl of Mayo, pleading for the betterment of conditions in Ireland, were quoted by Gladstone during the Home Rule movement as "a prophetic voice from the dead coming from beyond the Atlantic."

Another of the Fathers of Confederation was the Honorable Edward Whalen, born in the county Mayo, who as a young man went to Prince Edward Island, where he gained great influence as a popular journalist. He was an orator as well as an editor, and came to have the confidence of the people of the island, and hence was able to do very much for federation. A third of the Fathers of Confederation from the Maritime Provinces was the Honorable, afterwards Sir, Edward Kenny, who, when the first Cabinet of the New Dominion was formed, was offered and accepted one of the portfolios in recognition of the influence which he had wielded for Canadian union.

New York is indebted to one of the rebellions in Canada against the older, less liberal British rule, for a very distinguished historical writer, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, the editor of the *Vindicator,* the newspaper by means of which Papineau succeeded in arousing the strongest kind of feelings against the government among the people of lower Canada and fomented the revolution of 1837. O'Callaghan escaped to the United States and settled in Albany where he became historian of New York State. He edited and compiled a series of huge volumes on the documentary history of New York which have been extremely valuable for more recent historical writers. It has been said that "to him more than to any other we owe the preservation of the historical materials out of which the early

history of the State can be constructed." It was O'Callaghan who first called attention to the immense value for historical purposes which the Jesuit Relations, that is the letters which had been written by the Jesuit missionaries from this country to their superiors in Europe detailing their experiences, would surely possess in the hands of the historian who wanted to give the details of the relations of the Indians and the Whites in early days in this country. O'Callaghan also pointed out how valuable were the Holland archives for New York history and he himself went over there and consulted governmental documents and laid the foundation of archival history for New York. The library that he collected contained many valuable historical items and its sale attracted the attention of historical writers not only in this country but in Canada and England and France and a number of volumes were bought for the Canadian government library at Ottawa. O'Callaghan undoubtedly will continue to be remembered in the department of history for so long as the great Empire State of New York continues to be of special interest, for his work is basic in its history.

Mr. Michael J. O'Brien in his volume "A Hidden Phase of American History" has called attention to how many Irish there were in this country before and during the Revolution and how much they contributed to the struggle for independence. Palfrey suggested seventy-five years ago that the names in

New England read like those of the English countryside. Fifty years later Senator Cabot Lodge repeated Palfrey's expression and emphasized it in his "History of the American Revolution." A consultation of the muster roll of the men who fought in the Revolutionary War from Massachusetts, as published by the order of the General Court of Massachusetts at the end of the nineteenth century, revealed that so far from any such expressions being true, there were a great many Irish names among the soldiers of the Massachusetts regiments. There are no Lodges on the muster roll and only six Cabots, but Irish names occur very frequently and there are nearly four hundred of the name of Brien or O'Brien, but practically every other Irish name is to be found. There were literally scores of Kellys and Burkes and Sheas and Corrigans and Connollys and Costigans and Colligans and Ahearns and Barrys and all the rest. Of most Irish names there are many more examples than there are of typically English names among the soldiers.

It was not from Massachusetts alone that the Irish enlisted in great numbers to fight for American liberty and against the British but also from several other states. Wherever they were in numbers, enlistment was frequent. There were a number of Irish from North Carolina and Virginia and many of Irish descent including the Carrolls and their clan from Maryland and above all there were large numbers of Irish from Pennsylvania. The famous

Pennsylvania Line, noted for its fighting qualities, was actually composed to such a large extent of Irish that it was called familiarly the "Line of Ireland." According to tradition some of the very best fighting done in some of the hardest campaigns of the Revolution was by them. Washington particularly learned to respect them thoroughly and to depend on their courage and bravery.[24]

That is why we have the record of the American Commander-in-chief refusing to permit intolerant spectacles and parades on Guy Fawkes' day with accompanying expressions of contempt for the pope since this could do no good and would only harrow up the feelings of fellow-citizens and soldiers who were fighting bravely for their country. This was also why he attended the dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia before the end of the Revolution and showed his friendship for the Irish officers who composed it. The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia and also of New York are both societies more than one hundred and twenty-five years old that have continued during this long period to exhibit their affection for the land of their ancestors while always maintaining the loftiest of patriotism with regard to the land of their adoption or of their birth.[25]

It is not surprising to find with this large proportion of Irishmen in the ranks of the Continental army, that no less than eight of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Irish descent.

They were George Read and Thomas McKean of Delaware; Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina; James Smith and George Taylor of Pennsylvania; Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire, and Charles Carroll of Delaware. Among the presidents of the Union which came as the result of the Declaration of Independence and the success of the Revolution, a much larger number than is usually thought were of Irish blood. James Madison's mother was a Conway while among those who had an even stronger infusion of Irish blood were Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, Chester A. Arthur, Ulysses Grant —through his mother—William J. McKinley, Benjamin Harrison, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Woodrow Wilson with some question also as to Warren G. Harding. While the Washingtons are supposed by a great many people to be traced back to Sulgrave Manor, there is an Irish pedigree for them that is interesting and has more than a passing claim. Our latest president, Calvin Coolidge, derives his Irish blood through the Barrons of Waterford, on the distaff side, according to the pedigree of the Coolidges as made out by Professor Guy Coolidge of Hobart College. Apparently there is good reason to think that every president since Lincoln with the single exception of Rutherford B. Hayes had some Irish blood in him.

The great pioneers in this country whose names are best known, the men who went beyond the fron-

tiers at various times and dared the dangers of the trackless wilderness beyond, were in a great many cases Irishmen. Among them are such men as Davy Crockett the great frontiersman, Sam Houston who saved Texas for the United States and whose name is enshrined not only in the Texan city named after him but also in the streets of many eastern cities; and Simon Kenton of Kentucky fame. Daniel Boone used to be considered a descendant of the Bohuns and it was thought that his family had come from Ireland, but it seems probable that he came of Welsh stock, the race most nearly related to the Irish, and so many of whom migrated at various times to the neighboring coast of Ireland.

The name of a number of prominent Irishmen are forever enshrined in the memory of Americans because of what they did for the public benefit with the wealth that they had accumulated. Very probably the most prominent of these is William W. Corcoran after whom the well known Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington is named because he was the founder of it. It is said that during his lifetime he contributed over five millions of dollars to various public and philanthropic institutions. The name of John McDonough is almost as famous in Baltimore as Corcoran's in Washington. John O'Fallon and Brian Mullanphy who made their wealth in St. Louis and then founded great charitable institutions in that city, are other Irishmen whose names are forever in benediction. The first woman in America to whom a public monument was erected was an Irish-

woman, Margaret Haughery, who is famous forever in the history of care for the ailing poor. The Irish have known how to make money and they have known how to use it for the benefit of others and have not waited until the hand of death ruthlessly took it away from them to have to part with it, but have devised and planned during their lifetime how it should be used for the benefit of those around them.

APPENDIX III

Modern Irish Missionaries of the Spirit

THE spirit which led the Irish missionaries in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries to bring the mission of Christianity and its educational and cultural but also its spiritual force to a world so sadly disturbed by the invasion of the barbarians, has been exemplified very well in the modern time in a way that very few people realize and almost least of all the Irish themselves. This comprises what has been done by the spirit of noble-hearted Irish women in organizing the social service and the Christian education of the modern day. All over the English speaking world, and that means everywhere throughout the far-flung British empire but also in the United States and even on the foreign missions, Irish women have sacrificed their ties to their native land and their home affections in order that they might bring the good tidings of Christianity and the concomitant development of head and heart to the people. There are literally many thousands of these Irish women,—some of them born in the distant countries but all of them under the inspiration of the foundresses of religious communities whose work was originally done in Ireland and the organization of whose efforts for humanity were first made effective in that island of saints and

scholars,—who all over the world at the present time are accomplishing marvels very similar to those of the early days of Irish missionary effort in the diffusion of the spirit of Christianity and of true humanitarianism.

These organizations were indeed sadly needed. They came into existence in the early part of the nineteenth century. At that time social service was at its lowest ebb in modern history, above all in the English speaking countries, though this was true everywhere among the peoples who had been deeply influenced by what has been called the Reformation. As a result of the practical application of the maxim that salvation is by faith and not good works, the care for the poor at the beginning of the nineteenth century was in a state of degradation that is almost incredible to anyone who has not studied the conditions that actually existed. This was true above all in the English speaking countries. Take for instance the condition of the hospitals. Miss Nutting and Miss Dock in their "History of Nursing" have toward the end of their first volume a chapter on "The Dark Period in Nursing." This ran from the later seventeenth up to the middle of the nineteenth century. "During this time the condition of the nursing art, the well being of the patient and the status of the nurse, all sank to an indescribable level of degradation."

Jacobsohn, in his "History of Care for the Ailing,"* says that:

* *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Krankenkomforts, Deutsche Krankenpflege Zeitung*, 1898.

"The hospitals in the cities were like prisons, with bare undecorated walls and little dark rooms, small windows where no sun could enter and dismal wards where fifty or one hundred patients were crowded together deprived of all comforts and even of necessaries."

He emphasizes the contrast between the municipal and state institutions of this period and "the beautiful gardens, roomy halls and springs of water of the old cloister hospitals of the Middle Ages." There was none of these, "still less the comforts of their friendly interior."

The nursing was awful. Dr. Stephen Smith who introduced the trained nurse into this country told the story of the sort of nurses that they had—the only ones they could get—at Bellevue Hospital. They were the "ten day women," that is women who had been sentenced to ten days in the workhouse for being drunk and disorderly and who when they sobered up if they had had any experience in family nursing were transferred to the hospital side of Bellevue to take care of the sick. The nurses in England were as bad if not worse. Dickens' description of Sairey Gamp is usually considered one of his worst caricatures, utterly exaggerated for effect. It is a literal description of the actuality around him. Miss Nutting and Miss Dock say, "The drunk and untrustworthy Gamp was the only professional nurse," and they add, "In England where the religious orders had been suppressed and no substitute organization given, it might almost be said

that no nursing class at all remained during this period." "If I can but obtain a sober set of nurses," wrote one hospital manager, "it is as much as I can hope for."

Bellevue was not worse than other places throughout this country. Indeed there is a very definite tradition that Blockley in Philadelphia especially during the years when Philadelphia was the largest city in the country was worse than Bellevue. Other city hospitals were at least as bad, but things were as a rule so neglected that they could not be much worse and comparisons are odious. The asylums surely were worse than the hospitals, not alone those for the insane but also those for the orphans, and the poorhouses were quite as miserable as they could be. One testimony of this will suffice. Osler in the sixth edition of his textbook of medicine (1905) declared that we had no pellagra in this country and did not need to study the disease except for the possibility that immigrants might come in suffering from it. In 1907 however we discovered some native born Americans suffering from it and then in the course of a few years investigation revealed that the disease had been in existence in the poorhouses of this country for a hundred years and that probably a hundred thousand people had died of it. The disease is progressive, mutilating, ends in insanity, dementia, death. Think of 100,000 cases of this sort of disease never being recognized, taking its course toward death without anything being done. This was what the neglect of social service had brought to our

public institutions for the care of the ailing poor in a great republic the foundation of whose government had been the declaration that all men have "a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Asylum conditions, that is the treatment of the insane at Blockley, were so bad as to have been characterized by an investigation committee as revealing "shocking abuses." Yellow fever used to come into the hospital occasionally because it was particularly rife in Philadelphia, so much so that there was at one time a serious question of abandoning Philadelphia as the site for a city because of the number of cases of malaria and yellow fever that occurred there. Owing to the frequency of the epidemics of various fatal diseases, it was "impossible to procure suitable nurses; only the most depraved creatures could be hired; . . . an abandoned profligate set of nurses and attendants," who, "rioted on the provisions and comforts left for the sick." As Miss Nutting and Miss Dock say, "All the work of the house, nursing included, was supposed to be done by the inmates and there are no reasons to believe that it was of higher grade than that at Bellevue." They add that "It was also the custom of that inhuman institutionalism to permit the lowest and the coarsest of the public rabble to visit the wards for the insane, to laugh, stare and jeer at them as if they had been wild beasts in cages." This had long been the custom at Bedlam, the great insane asylum at London, England, and visitors used to be charged a penny for the privilege of enjoying entertainment

afforded by seeing the antics of the insane. The amount of money received by the asylum from this source was so large, that is the amount acknowledged as received, for the Lord only knows how much more was actually paid in, that there must have been literally many thousands of visitors every year.

At Blockley, to continue the quotation from Miss Nutting and Miss Dock, "most pitiful perhaps of all was their suffering from cold, for in those days there were no central heating plants and apparently it was assumed that the insane were insensible to degrees of temperature." There was the other reason that the hospital authorities were afraid to trust stoves and other open heating arrangements in wards where the insane were present because of the danger of fire and then of their burning themselves and others in their frenzy. It is easy to understand how much the poor insane had to suffer from Philadelphia winters because of this condition of affairs in the hospital.

"In 1832 there was a severe epidemic of cholera and the attendants demanded more wages. To keep them to their duties the wages were increased and were promptly spent for liquor. (Wages were very low but whiskey was at that time about fifty cents a gallon.) An orgy of intoxication ensued and the helpers crazed with drink fought like furies over the beds of the sick or lay in drunken stupor beside the bodies of the dead. So complete was the demoralization that the guardians applied to Bishop

Kendrick for Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg. The call was responded to promptly; indeed the Sisters started two hours after the summons was received. They took in hand the whole desperate situation, at once restored order and disseminated about them an atmosphere of tranquillity and quiet energy." Miss Nutting and Miss Dock whom we have been quoting do not tell that it cost the lives of two of the Sisters though they do say that this "one short interregnum of peace broke the long and distressing reign of violence, neglect and cruelty in Blockley." "The Sisters remained for some months and their work was so deeply appreciated by the guardians that the Committee of the House, in a set of resolutions commending their great services, resolved also that they be requested to remain permanently."

This however could not be for there were not enough Sisters properly to undertake the great work and then too their superiors felt that there were other needs in social service for which they should be employed. After all the Sisters of Charity were in training at that time rather for education than for hospital work, though when they came to realize the immense and intense needs in this department of human necessities they devoted themselves to this work particularly. As it was, in 1832, the "guardians of Blockley were obliged to let them go with glowing tributes which may well have been heartfelt."

These hospital conditions were horrible but they

must not be considered by themselves alone. Other social conditions were quite as bad, some I think almost worse, and they represented the utter lack of feeling for others that had gradually developed during the preceding century. For instance the child labor situation in England was about the ugliest stigma on a country that could possibly be thought of. At the turn of the eighteenth century the modern great industrial period began. Inventions of various kinds, the cotton gin and the spinning jenny with the application of steam to machinery, brought about the creation of huge factories. In these factories work was found for a great many children. Machines lacked as yet the almost human perfection that came later. The orphan asylums in Great Britain were a disgrace. In spite of that, taxpayers were always complaining of the amount of money eaten up in the care of orphan children. Orphans were more common in the population than in our day because epidemics of various kinds swept away their parents in early middle life. The asylum authorities therefore welcomed the opportunity to farm out their charges to the factories. Children of seven, eight and nine, sometimes it was said even younger than that, worked long hours in the factories. Twelve or fourteen hours a day were not unusual. They received only a miserable pittance besides their board and lodging and that went to the state while the board and lodging were provided by the factory owner. The machines were even more dangerous in those early days than they

are now. The children were over tired. They were often asked to work at night. No wonder that they got injured in all sorts of ways. Their nutrition was sadly neglected. The ventilation was poor, the factories were damp and draughty, no provision was made for keeping dust out of the atmosphere, and the children sickened and died. That made no difference. They were only orphans, paupers' children, whom nobody owned. "Rattle their bones over the stones" to a graveyard, and get a further supply. It was much cheaper to get further hands for the work than to supply safety mechanisms or to care for ventilation or for sanitary provision of any kind. In the mines the boys, though it was said also sometimes the girls, worked at nine and ten or even earlier. It was said that in some of the mines they were taken down on Monday morning and kept down until Saturday night. The parliamentary investigations made in the thirties of the nineteenth century disclosed almost incredible conditions in child labor in England. At that time the English were highly indignant over our colored slavery at the south as a disgrace to humanity. They had wage slavery of the awfulest kind for the children but also, owing to the miserable wages paid, for grownups, and knew almost nothing about it. They were seeing the mote and failing to see the beam.*

* Our treatment of children in America was no better. Our Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded long before the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and actually the first conviction in New York for the maltreatment of a child was secured under the statute for the prevention of cruelty to animals—because the child was an animal.

These abuses affected however not only orphan children but also not infrequently the children of parents who were willing to take the pittance of wages paid their little ones in the factories to spend on drink. They acually opposed legislation to prevent such abuses lest they should be deprived of the miserable wage their children earned. Sometimes unfortunately the wages paid the heads of families, and not infrequently both father and mother worked, were so low that they needed the wages of the children to eke out payment for the absolute necessities of food and clothing for the family. The conditions in the coal mines were so bad that a parliamentary investigation shocked the world. The English newspaper comment on the report of the investigation made by a parliamentary commission was, "The infernal cruelties practised upon boys and girls in the coal mines, those graves of comfort and virtue, have never been outdone."

These utterly neglected social conditions leading to positively barbaric results of many kinds were particularly noticeable in jails and government institutions of all kinds. Fortunately those two noble Quakers, John Howard and Mrs. Fry, did much to reveal the actual conditions and lead to the initiation of something like reform. The state of things in the woman's prison in Newgate with about 500 women, half of them criminals of all kinds and the other half prisoners accused of various lesser crimes who could not secure bail, all mingled together in a single large room where it was possible easily to

obtain drink and where the vilest women of the streets wrangled and fought and hooted and jeered, and where there were many children because their mother had no one to whose care to commit them while they were in prison, is only a striking example of the utter lack of anything like social sense in England at that time. There were over 200 crimes on the statute book punishable by death. Women with orphan children were hanged for the theft of the value of a shilling,—sometimes in order to obtain food for their starving children. When Mrs. Fry proposed to go into the women's prison, the warden refused to allow her and when she used influence to secure permission, he declared that he would not take the responsibility and that she must leave money or anything else valuable she had about her before going in.

When conditions in hospitals had reached their lowest possible ebb of service for humanity, it will be surprising for most people to learn that it was the Irish who began the reform, but that was what actually happened. Ireland had some fine old historic traditions of hospital service for the ailing. At a time when there was no such feature of social life as organized care for the poor when they were sick, among the nations, this was very well developed in Ireland because of the clan idea, according to which men belonged not so much to themselves as to their clan. They were therefore cared for when ill because they represented assets to the community. As I have told at some length in the chapter on

Ancient Irish Medicine, some of the hospitals in which this care was exemplified date from long before Christianity. No other nation has any such record except the Hindus and that because of their doctrine of metempsychosis which made them dread the possibility of themselves or their near relatives being reincarnated in another life in the persons of the very poor or even of animals. One of the earliest hospitals for the poor in all history was founded in Ireland 300 B. C. by Princess Macha. It was called *Broin Beargh* (House of Sorrow) and came afterwards to be used as the Royal residence in Ulster, so that some idea of its extent and structural significance can be obtained.

With the conquest of Ireland by the English the old tribal and clan customs disappeared to a great extent and living conditions in Ireland grew gradually worse. The invaders were not interested in maintaining the health of a subject people. Rural conditions came to be almost intolerable in matters of health and they were of course still worse in the cities as time went on. After the awful conditions imposed upon Ireland by the English parliament in Cromwell's time when it had assumed power in the name of liberty, Dublin and Cork and Belfast probably had the worst slums in the world. We have heard much of the dreadful conditions that obtained in the ghettos or city quarters of the Jews to which Napoleon finally put an end, but there is no doubt that the slums in the Irish cities under English misrule were ever so much worse than anything in the

ghettos. Fortunately the old Mosaic legislation saved the stronger and healthier of the Jews at least from what might have been exterminating conditions though only the very healthiest among them survived to be the rugged, vigorous disease-resisting people they are. Undoubtedly the hygiene of the Church did something of the same kind for the Irish. Their religion helped both races to maintain themselves in body and soul during the long years when they had to labor under the severest of abuses.

Irish hospitals in the early part of the nineteenth century had a little better reputation than those in other English speaking countries above all in England and here in America. The Irish School of Medicine the outstanding figures of which were Graves and Stokes and Corrigan, after each one of whom a disease described by him has been named, came to be known familiarly throughout the medical world. I cannot help but feel that one of the reasons why the Irish hospitals were so good for clinical teaching was that there was so much disease among the poor Irish in the awful conditions that existed in their cities and particularly in Dublin that they provided much more opportunity for the study and treatment of all sorts of pathological conditions than could be found almost anywhere else in the world of that day. Wages were almost unbelievably low, the prices of the necessities of life went up after the Napoleonic wars, there was a great deal of unemployment, nutrition was almost indescribably bad, the people lived huddled together

with almost no one to care for them and their ignorance of hygiene capped the climax of their health conditions. General ignorance of hygiene was however at such a low ebb that even at best they would have been helped very little by it. The physicians and surgeons and their lack of knowledge were as much responsible as social neglect for the conditions that developed in both hospitals and crowded city slums.

There was need of social service, but still more need of charity in the highest sense of that beautiful word, that is of the dearness of fellow men because of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. The first stirrings of that came in Ireland and young Irish women took up in very simple fashion the task of doing as much good as possible to those around them who were in need. They had no idea of the way their work would develop. They never dreamt that they were beginning a great social reform. They would probably almost have been overcome by the thought that it was actually a world reform that they were taking in hand but such it proved to be. None of them at the beginning had a thought of creating a religious community that would devote itself to the solution of social problems and the care of social ills and the reform of social abuses. Their work has developed in such a fashion as to make it a response not only to the sad needs of their day in the cramped and narrow environment which they faced, but throughout the English speaking world at least and indeed far beyond that in

their missionary labors immense good has been accomplished.

The story of these women is extremely interesting and deserves to be told much more at length than we can afford for it here but it illustrates very well the temper of the Irish race in their feelings for other people. After reading their story it is much easier to understand just what the Irish men and women of the seventh and eighth and ninth centuries did for the decadent civilization of that time. What they did was done without the slightest thought of any glory or prestige accruing to themselves. They shrank from anything like that. They just wanted to do the next thing as well as possible, and with the charity of Christ urging them that next thing was done so well, that others wanted to share in their labor and secure something of the satisfaction in life that came as the result of it. We wonder that there should have been within a century after St. Francis' death many thousands of Franciscans, but it is much easier to understand that when we realize that within a hundred years of the foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in Ireland more than 20,000 women, many of them young and all of them with hearts full of courage and hope, are ready to follow the footsteps of their foundress Mother McAuley in solving the problems of social abuses of various kinds. Yet that is exactly what has happened in our own day and under our eyes and that will doubtless be as much of a surprise to historians of the future time as the foundation of the Franciscans and their rapid

spread throughout the world is for historians now who do not understand how living and almost infinitely diffusive of itself is the spirit of the Church. *Bonum est diffusivum sui,* "good has a tendency to diffuse itself," to make itself felt ever wider and wider is a maxim of medieval philosophy said to come from Aristotle. It is the parable of the mustard seed over again, the smallest of all seeds yet growing into a large tree to shelter the birds of the air.

Mother Mary Aikenhead and the Irish Sisters of Charity

It was into these conditions of awful hospitals and still worse slums which we have given so faint a sketch of, that at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century a group of noble-hearted Irish women came to bring consolation to the poor, help to the physicians, light and leading for those who could not help themselves and Christian charity for all with whom they came in contact. Their work diffused itself all over the English speaking world and we are all reaping the benefit of it.

The first of these was Mother Mary Aikenhead, foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity. As a young woman she was brought in contact with some of the poorest parts of Dublin and became intensely interested in the work of doing good to those who needed help so badly. Bishop Murray of Dublin, met her in this work and realized that here indeed was a chosen soul. After a time he sent her a mes-

sage that he would be glad to count her among the first Irish Sisters of Charity. Miss Aikenhead replied that if an efficient superior and two or three able sisters undertook the work she would gladly join them. Nothing further was said and Mary kept on wondering that the efficient superior on whom so much would depend had not appeared.

"At last one day to her unspeakable amazement she learned that it was she herself who was to head the undertaking. Naturally timid, extremely averse to putting herself forward in any way and entertaining but a poor opinion of her own ability, she at first could not believe that it had entered into anyone's head to place her in such a position; and when there could be no doubt as to the intention of Dr. Murray on this point her courage failed her and she was filled with consternation."

It took some time to calm her fears but finally she consented on condition that she should have an opportunity to be trained in a convent before undertaking what seemed to her beyond her strength. Bishop Murray gladly consented to that and after some investigation the most suitable for her training seemed to be the Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary at York in England. The nuns in that institution took no vow of enclosure and made it a practice to go out to visit the poor in their homes. Their work was very like what the Irish Sisters of Charity were to undertake. The superior promised a hearty welcome to Miss Aikenhead and to her companion, Miss Alicia Walsh, who, fourteen years older, was

to be trained with her. She was supposed to balance Mary Aikenhead's enthusiasm by her more quiet maturity. Miss Walsh is described as "a charming and educated lady who had a great taste for reading and loved poetry." It has been said of her that

"her love of the poor was almost romantic in its tenderness and her patriotism was enthusiastic. During the rebellion of 1798 she went visiting the prisons at much personal risk to carry messages from friends or to console the inmates who were the objects of her deepest sympathy."

It is easy to understand that these two were well balanced and might well make the nucleus of an important religious community.

They went for a single year's convent training, they stayed for three years. When the Sisters returned to Dublin there was question whether they should affiliate themselves with the French Sisters of Charity, but Mary Aikenhead decided that such an international allegiance would bring complications. They had to adopt a costume for themselves. This was 1815 and Catholic emancipation had not come as yet so they were not publicly known as Mother Augustine and Mother Catherine, the names which they had adopted in religion, but as Mrs. Aikenhead and Mrs. Walsh.* Mrs. Aiken-

*Mrs. is an abbreviation for mistress which is the feminine correlative of master. It was formerly a title of address or courtesy nearly equivalent to madam, applied to any woman or girl, but now chiefly and specifically to married women. During the Elizabethan and Jacobean times and even in Queen Anne's day a woman who had mastered any art or branch of study was called a mistress and the original meaning of the word was a woman with authority or power of control, as over a house or over other persons, a female head, chief or director. The assumption by the Sisters of this title, now reserved only for the married, was perfectly in accord with the usage of the time.

head bore that name to the end of her life though Mrs. Walsh came gradually to be known by the title, Mother Catherine. There was no warrant in law for any such religious foundation and until the establishment of the Ursulines and the Presentation order a few years before under Nano Nagle's influence in Cork, the only religious communities in Ireland for several centuries were the Poor Clares, usually hidden away in little houses in the west of Ireland and having to move from one place to another every now and then because of government persecution.

Mother Aikenhead's little community increased slowly at first. Their motto was "the charity of Christ urgeth us." The nuns began to be seen in the lanes and back streets of Dublin, visiting the sick in their homes. They taught in the poor schools that were attended by many children. The number of Sisters being limited the work was heavy and the strain great. Three nuns died soon after their profession in the second year of the community's history. This was an intense grief to Mother Aikenhead and to her last day she could not allude to the deaths of these early members of the community without deep emotion. She had had many apprehensions as to her capacity for superiorship but now that the work was under way her uneasiness vanished.

Fortunately she had a sense of humor. Otherwise she would never have borne up under some of

the trials that came to her. Some of the early records are very interesting.

"Sometimes she was novice mistress in the place of Mother Catherine, she went on the sick mission abroad, whilst often hers was the hand which cooked the dinner also and washed the stairs and corridors. The former was not indeed a heavy duty, as on two days of the week, it consisted of nothing better than stirabout. An amusing incident is related of how one day, when all the sisters were out, the Rev. Mother set herself the task of scouring the stairs. She was in the midst of her work with her long skirt pinned back, and a large check apron, covering her habit, when she was interrupted by a ring at the door. Descending instantly to answer the summons she found that a distinguished prelate desired to see the Superioress of the Sisters of Charity. She at once showed the visitor into the reception room, and retired, saying the Rev. Mother would be with him presently. In a few minutes the apron was removed, the skirt let down and Mrs. Aikenhead entered the parlour to hold high converse with his Lordship, who apparently never connected the hard-working serving Sister that had admitted him with the dignified and elegant Mother Superior of the Order."

Soon other houses were founded because there was a demand for these women who did so much good for the poor in their homes and for the children in the schools. One of the early foundations was in Cork which was Mother Aikenhead's birthplace. Her nuns were warmly welcomed in Cork. The people were the poorest of the poor, plague and

cholera and typhus fever known as famine fever worked havoc among the population of Cork but also nearly everywhere in Ireland.

Mrs. William O'Brien in her volume "Unseen Friends" tells the story of those early years.

"Many were the duties undertaken by the Sisters of Charity; teaching poor children, visiting the sick and nursing them, while others undertook the solemn duty of visiting the prisoners in Kilmainham jail. It came to them to prepare poor condemned women to meet their fate. They visited them and remained with them until the last moment.

"When the cholera broke out in Ireland, the Sisters of Charity threw themselves into the work. In Dublin, Mother Catherine undertook the care of the cholera patients with a few helpers. Every morning the Sisters went to the cholera hospital.

" 'Mother Catherine was in her true element all this time. She would not allow herself a moment's rest. As the hospital did not provide certain little luxuries which she considered might contribute to the comfort of the convalescents, she set out every morning, with a basket under her nun's cloak laden with supplies. She also took with her large lawn handkerchiefs to wipe off the ice-cold perspiration, which exuded from the faces and limbs of the agonizing. In the evening she gathered these handkerchiefs, brought them home, washed them herself, so as to have them ready for the next day, nor would she allow anyone to do this for her or to help her; no, there was no use in offering or entreating. Mother Catherine in this would have her way.' Her helpers were indefatigable and devoted. One of the Sisters

took the contagion; but in a few days, she was on her feet again, attending the patients. While the pestilence raged, the Sisters remained at their post.

"In Cork, the panic among the poor people was terrific. They had no confidence in the doctors, and refused to go to the hospital for cholera patients. It was only when they heard that the 'walking nuns' (that was the name some of the poor people called the Sisters of Charity) would nurse them in the hospital, that they consented to take advantage of it. The heroic devotion of the Sisters in Dublin and in Cork was a great joy and consolation to their Mother, who, in 1831, was struck down with illness, and had to retire to Sandymount, and give up all active work. She was confined to her couch for years, and suffered weary pain. Her patience and cheerfulness during those years of bodily torture were a wonderful lesson to the Sisters. She was able to work with her head, if not her body, and to direct her children. Indeed, she did perhaps more for her congregation with her head than she could have done with her hands. She devoted great attention to drawing up the rules of the Order. The constitutions which cost so much time and thought and labour, have been the means of carrying the Sisters of Charity through their arduous work for many a generation."

A great wish of Mother Aikenhead's heart was to have a hospital in Dublin. Many people in Dublin doubted the wisdom of that purpose but she knew how much the poor dreaded hospitals and she knew that Sisters could manage a hospital so as to win the hearts of the poor and therefore provide

proper treatment. She went very wisely about the execution of her plan. As a preliminary she sent three Sisters to Paris to be trained in the care of the sick. This was more than half a century before Florence Nightingale's training of nurses. They remained for a year at the hospital La Pitié. Friends gave Mother Aikenhead the means to buy a fine old residence on Stephen's Green and this was converted into a hospital. It is still standing and has been a favorite place of pilgrimage for some of us in visits to Dublin. It had but twelve beds but they were soon filled with female patients. The first operation in the hospital was on a poor little boy who lay in the Reverend Mother's lap while it was being performed. In spite of criticisms of the undertaking on the score that it was not work suited for nuns, patients crowded to them in such numbers that the house next door had to be purchased and transformed into wards. The community continued to grow and to spread and Mother Aikenhead had to share the responsibility with the mother superiors of the various houses. She used to say sometimes, "I am just like the old woman who lived in a shoe, I have so many children I don't know what to do."

Stories from those early days show how tender hearted she was toward the poor and toward her Sisters when they needed her sympathy. On wet days when any of those working in connection with any of the houses got wet, and I need scarcely say that Ireland can be a pretty wet place at times, she always insisted on their changing their wet clothes.

If they were those who came to do work around the place, they always had to have something warm to eat. Drivers of carts who brought things to the houses had always to be properly refreshed. Mother Aikenhead gave special directions that their horses should be cared for.

One of the members of the order in the early days has described some details of the work of the Sisters that will provide the best idea of not only what they were trying to do but were actually accomplishing.

"When I was employed on the visitation of the poor, I took cases rather enthusiastically. On one occasion I got a call to a poor woman whom I found in a cellar not easy to reach on account of the darkness of the passage leading down to it. She was apparently in a dying state, lying on a straw pallet, with a dead child beside her, and other children playing on the flags near the bed. The poor mother was so ill and helpless she was unable to remove the dead child; nor did there appear to be any one to look after her or the children. It was Sunday and none of the neighbours had come to the wretched abode. I was greatly struck by the state of destitution and helplessness I found the family in; and so with my companion I tried to remove the little corpse, and make the poor sufferer more comfortable by giving her some nourishment. All this took a considerable time, and caused me to be beyond my appointed hour at the convent. On my return I went at once to the Rev. Mother, who was staying at that house and not at the hospital. She smiled when she noticed my distress and woe. 'Well, my heart, what

has happened?' she asked. 'O Mother' I said, 'I came across such a distressing case that I could not leave without doing something for the sufferer,' and then I related to her what I had witnessed. She looked earnestly at me, and said, 'My child, what would you wish to do for them?' 'O Mother, if the poor woman could be taken into St. Vincent's Hospital to save her life for her little family!' 'By all means, my child' she said, 'go back and bring her yourself to St. Vincent's. Tell Mother Rectress it is the Sunday of the Good Samaritan, and that I send her this poor creature in commemoration of the parable of the day.' I did not lose much time in flying back to my poor woman and doing as I was desired. She was received into St. Vincent's Hospital and restored to her family. But the kind and genial manner in which the act was done was long remembered by me with gratitude."[38]

No wonder that prominent visitors to Dublin wanted to see Mother Aikenhead. Dr. Pusey was among the visitors who paid a number of visits to her. It will be recalled that with Newman and Keble he was one of the leaders of the Oxford movement. He expressed a wish to witness a religious profession and was much impressed by it. Dr., afterwards cardinal, Wiseman who came to Dublin in 1839, had a long interview with Mother Aikenhead. Gerald Griffin the poet who lived for a while here in America had a sister in the community and visited the hospital to meet the Superior. James Clarence Mangan the Irish poet came as a patient and appreciated the change from his miserable garret. As he

was laid in bed he exclaimed, "Oh, the luxury of clean sheets!" He was a troublesome patient but the Sisters knew how to excuse the waywardness of genius and Mother Aikenhead herself said in extenuation, "These poor poets have nerves at every pore."

Mother Aikenhead had a saving sense of humor. She herself occupied every moment of her time. She was always doing something. She wanted people to use the talents that had been confided to them. She would repeat, "We don't want children here, we want young women who have sense and know how to use it." Those who did foolish or stupid things under the idea that they were cultivating piety she called "holy pokers." She used to say, "I don't want to have my nuns holy pokers."

She liked to see the young Sisters particularly busy and happy. She used to remind them often that God loves a cheerful giver and that if they were happy they must try and make others happy too. She took an intense part in the joys and sorrows of her large family. They grew almost out of all bounds. The community was called to undertake work in Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, and they organized a blind asylum in Merrion. All this was not accomplished without friction. Even Sisters are only human beings. Read St. Teresa's letters and appreciate how much of the obstinate human animal may be left in religious. St. Vincent's Hospital was the focus of opposition. The work there was very dear to Mother Aikenhead's heart. Oppo-

sition came from within. Unsubmissive spirits tried to get the younger Sisters to express dissent from the work carried on at St. Vincent's. The efforts made to stir up trouble led to several members leaving the community; but they were very few in numbers and the great mass of Sisters clung to Mother Aikenhead and their fidelity made up to her for the pain and anguish of mind she had to go through before she knew what the extent of the danger was.

In spite of all her work and trials Mother Aikenhead lived on to be seventy-one years of age. Mother Catherine (Walsh), her life long friend and companion lived to be nearly eighty-one and her death was a severe trial to Mother Aikenhead. The congregation which they had founded together continued to spread until there were literally thousands of Irish Sisters of Charity doing all sorts of good work in England and Ireland as well as in Australia. Besides St. Vincent's Hospital, Stephen's Green, Dublin, Ireland, there is St. Patrick's Hospital, Wellington Road, Cork, founded in 1870, the Children's Hospital, Upper Temple Street, Dublin, founded 1876, St. Mary's Hospital, Cappagh, County Dublin, founded in 1908, which has a tubercular department opened in 1921; there is St. Joseph's Hospice for the Dying, Hackley, London, founded in 1900 and such other charities as St. Mary Magdalen's Asylum, Donnybrook, County Dublin, founded 1833, St. Mary's Asylum for the Blind, Merrion, County Dublin, founded 1858, St. Joseph's Female Orphanage, Mt. Joy St., Dublin, founded

1856, a convalescent home, Milden, Blackrack, County Dublin, founded 1866, the Boys' Industrial School, Kilkenny, founded 1880, St. Margaret's Home, Rockferry, Cheshire, England, founded 1890, and above all worthy of special mention the convent at Foxford, County Mayo, founded 1891.

Into this little town of Foxford in one of the poorest districts of the County Mayo (God help us!) that I know so well because my own folks come from not far away, the Irish Sisters of Charity came some thirty-five years ago to teach and they have transformed the place. What the people needed above all was something to give them occupation. A falls in the river Moy provided cheap power and the Sisters actually proceeded to establish a woolen mill to furnish employment to some of the young men and a large number of the young women and they have succeeded in making a thrifty and model little town of it. Their blankets are famous as I have good reason to know, for we have some of them in the house, but they are only like the spirit of the place just as perfect as they could be made. Initial capital in the form of £7000 came from the Congested Districts Board, accompanied by an educational grant of £1500 for the training of workers. The expert business knowledge was furnished by Mr. J. C. Smith, the proprietor of the Caledon Woolen Mills who, though a Protestant, took a keen interest in this novel development of Catholic charity. As years went by the mill extended, keeping pace in equipment. At present it employs 200 persons.

Sixty tasty cottages have been built to house those families which depend entirely on the mill. There are men's and women's clubs and a spacious hall in which the workers' orchestra and dramatic society entertain their friends. The author of the "Life of Mother Aikenhead" says:

"The latest balance sheet tells us that, within the year £18,000 has been distributed in wages (some $90,000), and £14,000 ($70,000) expended locally on purchases of wool. The discipline of thrift has been accepted by the workers; out of their surplus earnings they have invested in the factory a total of £14,000, on which a handsome interest is paid. Those among them of older standing and higher grade have accounts with the bank, the younger folk entrust their savings to the Post Office."

In Australia the first foundation was made in 1857 and the same year St. Vincent's Hospital, Sydney, was founded. The Irish Sisters of Charity have a series of hospitals and schools in Australasia. St. Vincent's Hospital, Lismore, in the midst of the flourishing river districts of New South Wales, has a great future. St. Vincent's Hospital, Bathurst, founded in 1922, is in the centre of a rich farming district and was entirely free from debt on the opening day. St. Vincent's Hospital, Melbourne, in Victoria, founded in 1898, has now become the great general hospital of the city in the words of the Governor General of Australia, "a great national institution." Mt. St. Evin's Hospital was founded in

1913. St. Vincent's Hospital in Toowoomba founded in 1922 at a cost of nearly $200,000 is intended to accommodate 125 patients and is equipped to the best possible advantage. In Tasmania St. Joseph's Orphanage, Hobart, founded in 1879, is training orphans for useful employments of many kinds.

To the very ends of the world at the antipodes Mother Aikenhead's work has extended itself and young Irish women have given up everything, under the influence of her example and under her rule, for the sake of doing all that they can for others so that life may be happier for them.

Mother McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy

Another of these young Irish women who devoted herself to the care of the poor and the suffering in Dublin where such work was needed so much was Catherine McAuley who as the foundress of the Sisters of Mercy is usually known as Mother McAuley. She and Mother Aikenhead were born the same year, 1787. Like Mother Aikenhead she was a lady of great personal attraction. She received her first lessons in charity from her father who wanted to do everything he could for the poor though his devotion to them was the cause of much family friction since her mother wanted to shine in society and father's taste for association with the poor disturbed her. He died when his daughter Catherine was but seven but the memory of his charity stayed with her all her life. An uncle and aunt adopted Catherine

and learned to love her deeply. They were Protestants but through her influence and example became Catholics and they left her a large fortune which made her independent and she resolved to devote herself and her money to the care of the poor. Her decision made a number of people declare that she lacked the social sense of the rest of the family and took after her father who did not care to associate with the best people but liked to be with the lower classes. They dismissed her from further consideration with the expression that she was lacking not only in taste but in refinement.

She found many conditions in Dublin to improve. The children needed instruction so she gathered them for that purpose. She taught them how to do various kinds of needle work, plain and fancy knitting, and managed to sell the articles they made so that they might buy a little better clothing. She was very much interested in poor girls who worked out as domestic servants and tried to protect them and shelter them from the temptations that were round them. All this she had been doing before her uncle and aunt died. When wealth came she proceeded to centre these works in a home so that they might be better done. Her idea was to establish a sort of society of secular ladies who between the period of leaving school and settling in life might without inconvenience to their families spend a few hours daily in instructing the poor or in interesting young girls in the better things of life. It was only after her house was built and it proved to have something of

the appearance of a convent and the ladies who assisted her in her good works began more than half in jest to call each other Sister, that "the foundress saw that a higher mind than hers had planned an institute different from what she had contemplated."

This was the very simple beginning of the Sisters of Mercy. It gradually came to be a religious community but not without opposition. She was misrepresented not only by her family but even by priests and high ecclesiastics. Some of her Protestant neighbors in Baggot Street where her house was situated were indignant that a work of charity should be undertaken in their neighborhood. Most Reverend Dr. Murray, the archbishop of Dublin, who had been for years a warm friend, expressed his displeasure with her for changing her institute into a convent. She wrote that she was willing to follow whatever plan might be laid down for her. Fortunately there were not lacking good friends to encourage her in her work. Among the staunchest of these was Daniel O'Connell. He was greatly attracted by Miss McAuley's devotion to the poor and her eminent good sense. When in 1827 she began to entertain the poor children of the neighborhood on Christmas Day O'Connell presided at the first monster dinner and continued to do so whenever he was in Dublin.

After a time the archbishop of Dublin realized that the finger of God seemed to be in the work of Miss McAuley and her associates. He formally en-

couraged their organization as a religious community. It was decided that the foundress and two of her companions should make their novitiate in a Presentation Convent. The reason for this was that Nano Nagle in founding the Presentation Order had hoped to establish a religious community that would devote itself to the teaching of poor children and the visiting of the poor and their aid in various ways. This community had seen fit to become some fifteen years before this an enclosed order and now Miss McAuley and her Sisters proposed to carry out in fulness Nano Nagle's idea. The visitation of the sick in their homes has remained to this day one of the special works of the Sisters of Mercy. After a year and three months in the novitiate, Sister Mary Catherine as she now became, and her two companions, were professed and returned to Baggot Street where in the mean time her companions had been carrying on their good work. The archbishop appointed her superior though she had hoped not to be put in authority. She petitioned at least not to be called Reverend Mother but she was told that "there ought to be at least one mother in every house."

The following year, January, 1832, seven of the ladies who had carried on the establishment in Mother McAuley's absence, were clothed in the habit of the little institute. That habit has remained unchanged. The numbers continued to grow. After a time she obtained permission to visit the wards of several Dublin hospitals with her nuns to bring consolation to the patients. This was an innovation

not looked upon very graciously by the hospital authorities at first, but it was very greatly appreciated by the poor sufferers in the hospitals and before long by those in charge of them also. Patients became ever so much more tractable. Mother McAuley was very anxious that the Sisters should have a hospital of their own but her wish was not carried out in her lifetime though the great Mater Misericordiae Hospital, Dublin, came not long after her death and hundreds of hospitals since. During an epidemic of cholera in 1833 she established herself with her sisters in the cholera hospitals. The stricken population in panic was afraid to enter the hospitals. There were wild rumors that the patients were all dying and that the doctors were not only not helping them but hastening their death. The authorities and even the archbishop could not reassure the people. It was only when they heard that the Sisters of Mercy were working with the doctors that their wild terror disappeared. The cholera left hundreds of widows and orphans for the Sisters to provide for. During the early years of the foundation a great many of the members of the community died because of the hard work and the exposure to various epidemic diseases with regard to which at that time no one knew the proper precautions. No less than fifteen of the nuns lost their lives in the first six years of the existence of the community. Mother McAuley was terribly stricken by the losses for she loved all her spiritual children with a true mother's love.

The order continued to grow in spite of difficulties and deaths and other convents had to be founded. The first branch was at Kingstown near Dublin in 1834. Then followed St. Joseph's at Tullamore in 1836. St. Joseph's, Charleville, was founded that same year, and St. Mary's of the Isle in Cork in 1837. Foundations were made at St. Leo's in Carlow, at St. Anne's, Booterstown, and St. Mary's, Limerick. Then came the first foundation out of Ireland at Bermondsey, London, in 1839, followed by St. Mary's in Birmingham in 1841.

That same year came the news that the rules and constitutions of her order had been conferred in Rome. This was a great favor as the community was only ten years old but the consolation it afforded was shortlived. At the age of 54 just when her work was beginning to make itself felt widely, Mother McAuley died. Her loss was a great blow but her associates filled with her spirit, trained under her direction, animated by her charity, continued the work. In the late '40's Mother Warde and her companions came to America and provided much needed assistance for the Irish who had immigrated to America in such large numbers after the famine. Following the Irish emigrants wherever they went the Sisters went to Australia. Schools were organized, hospitals were founded, novices were received, everywhere the order showed the life it possessed and continued to grow. South America soon had its houses of the community. At the present time there are well above 20,000 Sisters of Mercy throughout

the world doing the work that Mother McAuley founded, devoting themselves to the care of the poor and the suffering in every way. It is thought that by the time her community is 100 years old in 1931 there will be over 25,000 of them.

Some of the great hospitals of this country are under their charge. It was in Mercy Hospital, Chicago, that Dr. John B. Murphy did much of his great work which English and American authorities in surgery went so far as to declare constituted the best surgery that has been done anywhere in the world for the past 300 years. Mercy Hospital, Pittsburgh, is one of the most important hospitals of the country, and Mr. Frick, the millionaire steel magnate, felt that he had to recognize its great power for good by leaving it as one of his residuary legatees. Misericordia Hospital, Philadelphia, is another of their great foundations.

These two orders, the Irish Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy, represent the pioneers in the reaction against the awful social abuses which existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which made the hospitals and other institutions for the poor such satires on humanity. The world has been accustomed to attribute the origin of this great reaction to Florence Nightingale, but Florence Nightingale herself proclaimed how much she owed to the spirit which had been introduced by the Irish Sisters. A few years ago a series of letters written by Miss Nightingale to Father Manning as he then was, afterwards Cardinal Manning, were published

in the *Dublin Review* (1919). In these she pleaded with him to secure for her the privilege of being trained in one of the houses of the Sisters in Ireland. She did not want to go as a visitor nor even as a postulant or novice. She wanted to receive the actual training of a Sister. She fondly imagined that it would be possible for her to wear the habit of the sisterhood for three or more months and to all intents and appearances be a Sister, a regular member of the community, though all the while remaining a Protestant, with only the Mother Superior and the chaplain in the secret. Just how she thought the matter of the reception of the sacraments was to be arranged she does not say and seems not to have thought of. Of course the idea was entirely out of the question but it serves to show her attitude toward the Sisters.

In June, 1852, she wrote to Father Manning:

"For what training is there compared with that of a Catholic nun? Those ladies who are not Sisters have not the chastened temper, the Christian grace, the accomplished loveliness and energy of the regular nun. I have seen something of different kinds of nuns and am no longer young, and do not speak from enthusiasm but from experience. There is nothing like the training (in these days) which the Sacred Heart or the Order of St. Vincent gives to women."

She evidently anticipated some opposition from her folks at home and confessed quite frankly that she had not ventured to broach the subject.

"I have not my people's consent for this and I do not think I should go without it. I was in disgrace with them for a twelvemonth for going to Kaiserswerth" (the house of deaconesses in Germany).

Her experience there, she knew, was so valuable that it was worth even the family friction that it brought with it. Though she mentions that her sister was out of humor with her for over a year because of it, she was evidently ready for a similar experience, if only it would serve her as well in the preparation for what she now felt was her life work.

In seeking definite preparations and training for her life work—the care of the sick and the needy, Miss Nightingale not only heard of but manifestly had seen some of the good work done by both the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity in Dublin. She mixes them up somewhat and in one of her earlier letters to Father Manning urged him to find out "whether they would take me in the hospital of St. (*sic*) Stephen's on the Green of Dublin (which is served by the Sisters of Mercy) for three months *as I am.*" Sometime afterwards she wrote:

"I really don't know what I am going to do, but if I do not see you again St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Stephen's Green, is the place for me."

Of course under the circumstances Father Manning could not secure her the privileges that she asked for, but he kept her in mind and when the awful breakdown in the care of the wounded soldiers occurred in the Crimea,—when hundreds of soldiers

were left for more than a week in their clothes without anyone to tend them except some brother wounded soldiers to give them an occasional drink, when they lay festering in their wounds and their excretions and at last the story of the unspeakable conditions leaked out to England to give the nation a thrill of horror—Father Manning wrote to Mary Stanley, the sister of the well known Anglican Dean of St. Paul's, London, Dean Stanley, "Why will not Florence Nightingale give herself to the great work?" Mary Stanley[27] and Florence Nightingale were very dear and close friends.

As we know Florence Nightingale did give herself to the work and with her, at a day's notice, by her special request, went five Sisters of Mercy from Bermondsey, a branch of the Sisters of Mercy from Dublin who had come over to London only a few years before. These Bermondsey nuns who as she herself has said were among the most faithful of Miss Nightingale's assistants, remained with her until the end. When they were leaving on April 29, 1856, she wrote:

"Your going home is the greatest blow yet but God's blessing and all my love and gratitude go with you as you well know."[28]

How much their presence meant to her may be gathered from a letter which Miss Nightingale at Balaklava wrote to the Reverend Mother at Scutari asking her if possible to get additional nuns from England. She concludes her letter thus:

"I cannot express to you, dear Rev. Mother, the gratitude which I and the whole country feel to you for your goodness. You have been one of our chief mainstays, and without you I do not know what would have become of the work. With love to all my Sisters, believe me, dear Rev. Mother, ever yours affectionately and gratefully, FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE."

There was very bitter feeling in England at this time with regard to Catholics. The English hierarchy had been reestablished only shortly before and this had caused an outburst of bigotry. It was very difficult for intolerant Protestants to think of nuns occupying a more or less official position and taking care of English soldiers in the Crimea. An ultra-Protestant pamphlet appeared pointing out the absurdity of "Catholic nuns transferring their allegiance from the pope of Rome to a Protestant lady." The tidings of these rumors and circulars reached the Crimea where they caused no end of merriment among the parties most nearly concerned. The intimate cordial relations which existed between Miss Nightingale and the Sisters may be gathered from the fact that after hearing of this pamphlet on the pope, one of the Sisters playfully addressed Miss Nightingale as "Your Holiness," and the latter retorted by dubbing the Sister Superior a cardinal. A little later Miss Nightingale writing from the new encampment to the Sisters at Scutari said:

"I want my cardinal very much up here. The Sisters are all quite well and cheerful, thank God for it. They have made their hut look quite tidy and put up with the cold and inconveniences with the utmost self-abnegation. Everything even the ink freezes in our hut every night."

Is it surprising that when one of the nuns had a dangerous attack of fever Miss Nightingale insisted on nursing her herself?

When in 1856 peace came the wounded had still to be nursed but Mother Superior with shattered health and imperative home duties in England had to return. "Work away merrily!" were her parting words to those whom she left behind at Balaklava, and Scutari. Florence Nightingale wrote her a farewell letter.

"You know that I shall do everything I can for the Sisters whom you have left me. I will care for them as if they were my own children. But it will not be like you. I do not presume to express praise or gratitude to you, Rev. Mother, because it would look as though I thought you had done this work, not unto God, but unto me. *You were far above me in fitness for the general superintendency, in worldly talent of administration, and far more in the spiritual qualifications which God values in a Superior; my being placed over you was my misfortune, not my fault . What you have done for the work no one can ever say.* I do not presume to give you any other tribute but my tears. But I should be glad that the Bishop of Southwark should know, and Dr.

Manning, that you were valued here as you deserve, and that the gratitude of the army is yours."[29]

The other Sisters remained in the Crimea until the last of the wounded could be evacuated to England. Then they came back to devote themselves for the rest of their lives to the care of the ailing poor in the London slums who were quite as much in need of their services as the poor soldiers in the Crimea had been, though so much public attention was not called to their condition. The Sisters looked for no reward but the satisfaction of work well done not for any earthly motive but for a divine incentive.

"The Sisters had from the first refused all remuneration for their services; and when, after their return to England, Lord Panmure wrote to 'express to the Sisterhood the sense entertained by Her Majesty's Government of the devotion displayed by them in attending the sick and wounded soldiers in the British hospitals in the East,' and to offer them a sum of money, the Nuns generously declined it for themselves, expressing at the same time a willingness, which the Government readily gratified, to distribute it among the poor and sick of their own district, preferring for themselves to be rewarded only by His grace and love, for whose sake alone they had undertaken a difficult and a noble work."

These then were the missionaries of the spirit who, organized under the inspiration of Mother Mary Aikenhead and Mother Catherine McAuley, went forth from Ireland to do the good work their hands found to do wherever it might be and inevit-

ably to encounter others who flocked around them and wanted to help them in the work. Both orders have grown and are still growing. All over the world literally nearly a thousand young women every year ask to be allowed to become members of the Sisters of Mercy in order that they may share the training given by the good Sisters which Florence Nightingale appreciated so much and wanted to secure for herself. As a result they have that broadened character and sympathy that makes life lived for others the happiest that can be on earth. Cheerful and lighthearted as their foundress had suggested, they go on their way doing their work. Still they visit the houses of the poor and take care of young working women, still they visit the prisons and maintain their hospitals as well as teach the children of the poor, and in recent years when religion in education has come to be recognized as such an important desideratum, they have organized high schools and colleges for women that have done much to stem the tide of the modern paganism. Women are so much more susceptible to irreligious teaching than men are, that this organization of Sisters' colleges has been extremely important and represents a wonderful new development in American education.

What their visiting of prisoners and prisons may mean is very well illustrated by a passage from Carlo de Fornaro's "A Modern Purgatory" which is a description of his year's imprisonment on Blackwell's Island. The well known cartoonist was sen-

tenced for criminal libel against the late President Diaz of Mexico.

He refused to withdraw his expressions with regard to President Diaz though recantation would have secured immediate release, and insisted on serving his time pending appeal. He described the visits to the prisons of a number of clergymen and emphasizes how little those visits meant for the prisoners. It was quite a different matter however with the Sisters of Mercy. They brought real consolation to the hearts of the prisoners and meant ever so much for bringing about a change of heart in them. Fornaro said:

"The Sisters of Mercy appear every month or so; they are loved and venerated by the convicts. I have noticed that, unlike the other missionaries who take care of our spiritual welfare, the Sisters never ask a convict: 'What crime did you commit?' but always: 'How long must you serve?' 'Have you mother, sister, wife, or children?' 'What can we do to help them?' The Sisters never argue, discuss or theorize about religion, but they help the convicts in the only practical useful and efficient ways; they visit and appeal to judges and District Attorneys; they call on the families of the convicts and their friends; they furnish money to needy relatives and to the men themselves when they come penniless out of prison.

"The Protestant clergymen, the Catholic priests, the Rabbis, the missionaries, as a rule talk only to the men of their own faith. But the Sisters of Mercy speak to everybody, no matter to what race or faith they may belong. They never inquire into

a man's crimes; all they ask is to be told of his troubles and worries and to be allowed to do what they can to relieve them.

"One of the Sisters is said to be responsible for the elimination of stripes in Sing Sing."

The Sisters in their visits to the prisons on the Island were doing exactly as Mother McAuley directed her assistants and later her Sisters to do when she was founding her institute. Her great rule was, never ask questions. Do things for people and if they want to confide in you, well and good, but she felt that it was very easy for people to be led astray out of almost idle curiosity. She expressed her creed of service in a few simple words. In writing about her for *The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review* (New York, March, 1923) as one of the great predecessors of and pathfinders for Florence Nightingale, I quoted her own words on the subject of visiting hospitals and ventured to comment on them:

"Great tenderness must be employed to relieve the corporal distress first, and endeavor to promote the cleanliness, ease and comfort of the patient, since we are ever most disposed to receive admonition or instruction from those who show compassion for us."

The structure of that sentence is typical of the way in which Mother McAuley did her work. In the last portion of it she identifies herself with the poor by using the first person plural "we," that is, all of

us "are ever most disposed to receive admonition and instruction from those who show compassion for us." She felt that a great deal of good could be done for the poor by proper advice, and admonition, but appreciated very well their minimum of regard for the counsel of those who offer them a little help and a great deal of advice. When you have done people physical good, it is easy for them to believe that your advice is also meant to do them good, though without the preliminary beneficence, they may feel that advice, which is so cheap, is just an imposition.

There are over 7,500 Sisters of Mercy in the United States at the present time. Most of the hundred hospitals and sanatoria which are under the charge of the Sisters in this country are of as high an order in organization and equipment as it is possible for them to be in the environment in which they find themselves. Some of them are among our greatest hospitals. Mother Warde trained under the eye of the foundress herself in Ireland, possessed something of her greatness of soul and her supreme devotion to the cause of the poor. She came to this country at a time when bigotry ran high and she was fearless and forward looking and ready to face danger even when there was serious risk of life. In the '40s when Mother Warde began her work a convent was burned down in Philadelphia by a mob. Ten years before a mob from Boston had burned down the Ursuline convent at Charlestown and threatened the lives of the sisters. Sisters were

often insulted on the streets. Mother Warde and her companions heard of threats against them by the intolerant.

No wonder that the Sisters of Mercy following in the footsteps of Mother Warde have accomplished so much for the country. The spirit of Mother McAuley still prevails and it is not surprising that Florence Nightingale was taken with the work accomplished by them and the noble temper in which it was done. Her association with Mother McAuley's daughters in the Crimea when unfortunately she had not been able to secure the training from them in their house in Dublin which she had longed for and planned for so cordially, gave her life long memories of their beautiful characters and their supreme devotion to those who needed their care.

Mother of the Orphans

A typical illustration of the kindness of heart and greatness of soul of these Irish foundresses of the religious orders who accomplished so much for the solution of social problems and above all the correction of social abuses, we had in this country in the person of Margaret Haughery whom the New Orleans people learned to call so familiarly but so cordially "Our Margaret." All the world in the South came to talk of her as the "Mother of the Orphans," and she well deserved the title. She did not found a religious order but she was brought in contact with the Sisters of Charity after she herself having been left an orphan and then having married

lost her husband and her child, knew how much the poor suffered and needed help. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to the alleviation of every kind of need and yet with such practical good sense and such thoroughgoing foresight for the solution of difficulties, that she accomplished, though in her youth she had never learned to read and write and never was able to correct that gap in her education, an immense amount of good. No wonder that the New Orleans people erected a monument to her, thought to be the first monument ever erected to a woman in this country and that they named the place where the monument stands Margaret Place. She is forever famous in the annals of social service in this country and has been an inspiration to ever so many since her time.

Margaret Haughery was born in County Cavan, Ireland, it is not quite known where or when, but about 1814. Her parents emigrated to Baltimore and died there in 1822 in one of the epidemics so common about that time, when Margaret was but eight. She was brought up by a kind hearted Welsh family to whom she always felt deeply indebted but as an orphan there was no chance for education. She never learned to read and write but she proved to be a very capable business woman and she accomplished an immense amount of good. At the age of twenty-one she married Charles Haughery and went with him to New Orleans. Within a year her husband died and then her baby. She worked in a laundry where she could see the orphan children and

learned to pity them. She spent her spare money doing things for them. She opened a dairy in order to have more to give them and herself drove the milk cart round the city. Orphans multiplied because of the epidemics so she collected bread from the hotels and homes of the rich and the leavings of their tables in order to bring them back to the orphan asylums. The female orphan asylum of the Sisters of Charity built in 1840 owed much to her and she cleared it of debt. When yellow fever came to New Orleans she went about from house to house without regard to race or creed, utterly careless of her own safety, nursing the victims and consoling dying mothers with a promise to look after their little ones.

Her promise to the mothers made it necessary that she should increase her earnings, so she opened a bakery and for years continued her rounds with a bread cart. She had the practical business sense to make "Margaret's Bakery" the first steam bakery in the south, and it became famous. Though she provided for the orphans and fed the poor and gave bounteously in charity, her resources increased until she became a power for good in the city. With true Irish fearlessness, she braved General Ben Butler during the Civil War when he was in command in New Orleans, making it very uncomfortable for everybody, and somehow won him over to give her permission to carry a cargo of flour for bread for her orphans across the lines. She was deeply interested in the Confederate prisoners who unfortunately had to suffer as much as the Federal prisoners

at Libby or Andersonville, though there was so much less excuse for neglect and abuse of prisoners.

Margaret came to be an institution in New Orleans. Seated in the doorway of her bakery in the heart of a city, she was visited almost continually by the poor who came to ask her assistance but besides she was consulted by the people of all ranks and conditions about their business affairs, her wisdom and practical business sense having become a proverb among the people but one which was exemplified and justified by ever so many instances. She was masculine in energy and courage, but gifted with the kindest and gentlest of hearts. No wonder that her death was announced in the newspapers with black mourning edging the columns as if some great public official or man of distinguished public service had died. All New Orleans headed by the governor, the archbishop and the mayor, attended her funeral. Within two years her monument rose to be a lasting memorial to her. It presents her just as she was, not at all handsome, rather low in size, dumpy in appearance, a typical elderly Irish woman in a good many ways, but her attitude toward the orphan girl who stands beside her and the leaning confident position of the orphan, makes one realize that here was a woman with a heart. Margaret is undoubtedly one of the most striking examples of social service though she would have detested the expression and would have thought the old-fashioned word charity, the dearness of mankind in need to her because of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man,

was the only one that could properly express the feelings that she cherished and tried to exemplify.

She was interred in the grave with Sister Francis Regis Barrett, another great hearted Irish woman the Superior of the Sisters of Charity in the orphan asylum with whom Margaret had cooperated in all her work for the poor. Margaret wanted to be buried with her because she said that all her own work had been accomplished mainly because of the example set her and the encouragement afforded by word and deed by Mother Regis Barrett in the years of struggle at the beginning of her career when she needed sympathy and stimulation to get her own great good work properly started.

What the Irish women are doing the Irish men are also occupied with. Irish priests followed the Irish emigrants as they were scattered throughout the earth by the compulsion of the almost impossible conditions in their own land. They followed them literally all over the world, to England, to the United States, to Canada, to Australia and South Africa. As a result there are several millions of Irish all over the world who form the backbone of the original form of Christianity everywhere in the English speaking countries. During the past generation with the lifting of the ban upon education in Ireland there has come a reawakening of the missionary spirit among the Irish and so at the present time there are Irish missions or at least many Irish missionaries in South Africa, in China, in Korea, in the Philippine Islands, following the footsteps of

those Irish apostles who some fifteen hundred years ago under the impulse of St. Patrick's genius began the work of evangelization and civilization, which was to mean so much for the barbaric world of their day. The story of that taken in connection with the history of what the Sisters are accomplishing in so many places will enable the modern reader to understand more readily just what it was that happened under the influence of the *ingenium perfervidum Scotorum,* the ardently enthusiastic genius of the Irish a millennium and more ago.

Notes

[1] Some may think that a sixth should be added to this list of peoples to whom the world in general is deeply indebted—the Arabs. That opinion, I think, is due to a misunderstanding of what the Arabs really represent in the history of civilization. The Arabs captured the Grecian cities of Asia Minor not long after Mohammendanism began to spread. Greek culture was not confined, as so many people think, to the Grecian peninsula and the Isles of Greece. Before the Periclean Age, Greek development had taken place mainly in Asia Minor. Even at that period such well known Greek writers as Democritus from Abdera, Hippocrates, the great Greek physician, and Apelles, the Painter, from Cos, Diogenes from Sinope, Herodotus from Halicarnassus, and a hundred years before Pythagoras and Aesop from Samos and Sappho from Mytilene, make it very clear that the Asiatic Greeks were of paramount significance. When the Arabs captured the Asiatic Greek cities, just as with the Romans and every other people with whom it was brought in intimate contact, "captive Greece took its captor captive." The Arabs, inoculated with Greek culture, preserved it for a time and carried it with them wherever they went. They carried Greek philosophy and especially Aristotle to Spain and made Cordova a great centre of intellectual life. From here Aristotelianism made its way into the rest of Europe, unfortunately disfigured in Arab versions. It was not until collation with the Greek original came in the thirteenth century that the great period of medieval philosophy began to flourish.

The Arabs should have brought Greek medicine with them from the original sources but they had transfigured it by superstition and astrology. They are often given credit that does not belong to them in this matter. Gurlt, the great German historian of surgery, pointed out that the first great text-books of surgery in the medieval period, when the surgeons developed anesthesia and invented antisepsis and boasted of union by first intention contained Greecisms and not Arabisms. Mohammedan objection to dissection prevented the development of anatomy until a great awakening of surgery in Italy in the thirteenth century brought it in and the Church permitted the use of the bodies of criminals and paupers for dissection purposes.

The one thing for which the modern world is indebted to the Arabs is the Arabic numerals. They were introduced about the middle of the tenth century but the Arabs did not apply them to good advantage. It was not until the thirteenth century that their use was developed by Europeans in such a way as to lay the foundation of modern arithmetic.

A number of modern writers have been tempted to exaggerate the significance of the Arabs in history because they thought thus to minimize the influence in the development of education and science of Christianity. The Arabs lacked originality and inventive genius but had the good fortune to be brought in contact with Greek influences and thus became the bearers of culture for a time and provided the stimulus that woke up later medieval Europe. The fact that they "carried on" when the

Asiatic Greek cities fell into their hands was a very precious factor for civilization in a trying time but the significance of what they did must not be exaggerated.

[2] English gratitude for all that they felt they owed the Irish at this time was expressed in many ways. There were even poetic effusions that were meant to express something of the thankfulness that the men of the sister island felt. There is a well known poem mentioning and characterizing in very happy fashion the various provinces of Ireland which is attributed to Aelred, king of Northumbria, who was educated in Ireland about 684. In it he sings the praises of the land of his teachers in a way that many a scholar who went down to Italy for graduate education in the subsequent centuries and especially about the time of the Renaissance paid his tribute to Italy, that *alma mater studiorum*, as Linacre called her, when he raised an altar to her on the summit of the Alps from which he obtained the last view of the fair Italian land. James Clarence Mangan has paraphrased the poem of the Northumbrian king who evidently had drunk deep of the Irish spirit before composing it. The following stanzas will give an idea of its content:—

I found in Inisfail the fair,
In Ireland, while in exile there,
Women of worth, both grave and gay men,
Many clerics and many laymen.

I traveled its fruitful provinces round,
And in every one of the five I found
Alike in church and in palace hall
Abundant apparel and food for all.

I found in Munster, unfettered of any,
Kings and queens, and poets a many—
Poets well skilled in music and measure,
Prosperous doings, mirth and pleasure.

I found in Connaught the just, redundance
Of riches, milk in lavish abundance,
Hospitality, vigor, fame
In Cruachan's land of heroic name.

I found in Ulster from hill and glen
Hardy warriors, resolute men,
Beauty that bloomed when youth was gone
And strength transmitted from sire to son.

I found in Leinster the smooth and sleek,
From Dublin to Slewmargy's peak,
Flourishing pastures, valor and health,
Long living worthies, commerce and wealth.

I found in Meath's fair principality,
Virtue, vigor and hospitality,
Candor, joyfulness, bravery, purity,
Ireland's bulwark and security.

I found strict morals in age and youth,
I found historians recording truth,

The things I sing of in verse unsmooth,
I found them all. I have written sooth!

[3] Mr. Boswell in "An Irish Precursor of Dante" apologizes in a note at the beginning of his work for seeming to exaggerate the place of Irish scholars to the exclusion or at least minimization of the efforts of Christian scholars of other nations at this time in words that express so well what I would like to say myself that there seems nothing to do but quote it. He said, "The above passage appears to claim for the Irish scholars and clerics a monopoly of the educational and missionary work of the age to the exclusion of the eminent Anglo-Saxons who were labouring with success and distinction in the same field. I had no intention to disparage either the original genius nor the learning of Bede and Aldhelm, Caedmon and Cynewulf, Winifred and Alcuin, nor their missionary and scholastic work, both at home and in the Frankish Empire; only to point out that the position acquired by the Irish scholars and clerics enabled them speedily to disseminate through Western Europe the works of their compatriots. By recalling the names of a few of the most eminent Irishmen who enjoyed a Continental fame during the Middle Ages, we may perceive how wide was the area, and how long the duration, of their influence.

"Clement was the chief of a group of Irish scholars who took a leading part in the educational reforms promoted by Charlemagne. Alcuin, Clement's great English rival at the Frankish Court, had been educated at Clonmacnois. Joannes Scotus Erigena, in the reign of Charles the Bald, founded the scholastic philosophy, and by his translation of the pseudo-Areopagite, and his studies of the neo-Platonists, bridged over the chasm between ancient and modern thought. Dungal, in the first half of the ninth century, was the first astronomer of his age; at the mandate of Lothair, King of Lombardy, he founded a school which afterwards developed into the University of Pavia, with branches in several other cities, and laboured with success at the task of civilizing the Lombards. Add to these Dicuil, a geographer of the same date, the most accurate topographer of the early Middle Ages; Firghil, or Virgilius, Archbishop of Salzburg, who taught the rotundity of the earth and the existence of antipodes; Sedulius, the ninth century grammarian; St. Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole (fl. c. 840), traveller, topographer, and Scripture commentator; Marianus Scotus, one of the leading chroniclers of the eleventh century; and many others, who laboured with distinction in France, Italy, Germany, England, and Flanders, down to the thirteenth century, when Frederick II, Emperor, summoned Petrus Hibernicus to the University of Naples, where he counted among his theological pupils no less a personage than Thomas Aquinas."

[4] Only a little knowledge of the literature that has gathered round this subject of the diffusion of Christianity and culture by the Irish monks is needed in order to understand how much was accomplished, though at the same time how much remains to be learned about these accomplishments. Margaret Stokes, for instance, has written two very valuable books on the subject that may perhaps not be thought of as critical because she loves to incorporate all that is charmingly legendary about these old saints, but most of the material that she has gathered is very valuable and eminently suggestive. Those who want to know something

of the great work the Irish saints accomplished in the heart of Europe should read her volumes, "Six Months in the Apennines in Search of the Vestiges of Irish Saints in Italy" (London, 1892), "Three Months in the Forests of France: a Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in France" (London, 1895).

[5] Victor Branford in his sketch of St. Columba with the secondary title "A Study of Social Inheritance and Spiritual Development" (Edinburgh, 1912), said, "For several centuries in early medieval time, Irish saints were as common in Europe (that is over on the continent) as Irish policemen are in America today. It is said to be a working rule of the Bollandist editors (that is the Jesuits who are gathering together all that is definitely known about the lives of the saints and issuing them in huge tomes that already contain over a hundred millions of words) that if the birthplace of a saint is unknown he may safely be credited to Ireland." This is not in any sense of the word a joke, though it sounds that way, for the Bollandists are such serious contributors to history and biography and especially so well known for their critical investigation of documentary evidence, that the Princeton University Press a few years ago issued a translation of the little volume in which the literary and historical work of the Bollandists is described by one of themselves.

[6] An excellent idea of the deep influence that was exerted on the minds of all those who were interested in geography and exploration by what they had heard and read of St. Brendan's navigation, can be gathered from a paragraph of Father De Roo's "History of America Before Columbus" (Lippincott, 1900). "A Catalan of the fifteenth century remembers 'San Brandan' on his island 'Gataforda' north of Ireland. Sebastian Cabot, who had seen much and heard more of the seas north and west of the British Isles, adorns his map of the year 1544 with 'St. Brandon's' islet, located twenty-four degrees due west of Dublin. The map of Peter Desceliers, drawn in A. D. 1546, which repeats the Christian names given by Cabot to some places of America's eastern coast, represents the island 'St. Brandon' half-way between Ireland and the St. Lawrence River. We find, on the rich parchment ordered drawn by Henry II of France about the year 1550, the small island 'St. Brandon' placed on a line between Ireland and Anticosti. Mercator, in 1569, marks 'St. Brandain' east of the mouth of the St. Lawrence River; and so does Thevet in his *Cosmographie Universelle;* while Michael Lok, on his map of the year 1582, agrees with them in placing his 'St. Brandam' between Ireland and America, much nearer, however, to the latter. Five years after, Ortelius moves the isle closer to Ireland; but as late as 1605, when numerous voyages should have elucidated the famous legend of St. Brendan, we still find the island located where the reader of the story might look for it—namely, in the near proximity of Newfoundland. About the same time Honorius Philoponi tells us that the island of 'St. Brandon' is situated in the northern ocean, just opposite the Land of Corterreal or New France of North America; and, finally, a rather recent Portuguese map, preserved in the Riccardiana Library of Florence, sets down the island of 'St. Brandam' to the west of Ireland."

From this it is clear that practically every one of the men who were looked up to as knowing most about the geography of the western world even down to the end of the sixteenth century and beyond, was convinced of the

significance of St. Brendan's discovery. This had been true also for the centuries before the discovery of America so that it is not too much to say as Father De Roo did that "the most learned men of Europe have generally admitted during these last ten centuries that the Irish monk St. Brendan had been a remarkable explorer of the Atlantic Ocean, and the discoverer of unknown lands situated according to the more plausible opinions in great number, in a westerly direction from his native country close by or on the eastern shores of North America."

[7] Bishop Shahan in his "St. Patrick in History" said, "As God scattered the Greeks among nations east and west for the training of the intellect, as He drove the Jew like a hard resisting wedge into every society of antiquity for the confession of one God and the assertion of human unity and equality, so He seems from age to age since their conversion to have scattered the Irish people like a sacred seed flight, to fructify on all sides and keep alive the idea of and the devotion to the religion of holy and undefiled Christianity, a Christianity ever fair and vigorous, ever consistent and cosmopolitan, ever fondly thoughtful of the claims and rights of nature, devoted to the human institutions of law and order and State and nation—yet ever conscious that above and beyond all these things are Jesus Christ, His Revelation, His Church, and that whatever conflicts hopelessly with this divine order can be neither true nor permanent nor even desirable for human welfare."

[8] One of the interesting literary transfers of influence in the more modern time is that said to have been effected through the influence of James Clarence Mangan, that strange, sad, unfortunate Irish genius on our almost equally unfortunate Edgar Allan Poe. There seems to be no doubt at all of the deep impression produced on Poe by Mangan. As Poe is looked upon as one of our greatest American literary men sharing with Hawthorne and Whitman the prestige of more widely influencing literary folk in other countries besides their own than any of our other writers, the place of Mangan will be understood. It is often said that Poe's most important disciple in this country was that other erratic Irish genius, Fitzjames O'Brien, whose baptismal name I believe was Michael.

[9] Probably nothing is more wonderful than the remarkable way in which the Irish people influenced and gradually converted to their mode of thinking the various races who conquered them. The Danes, for instance, were transformed as they were almost nowhere else into a literature and art loving people after they settled down in Ireland. The Normans from England became more Irish than the Irish themselves as ever so many names proclaim. The various Fitzes, the Burkes, the Desmonds, the Geraldines, now so intensely Irish, are Norman in origin. They did the same thing with the Elizabethan invaders who came to them and actually they very nearly succeeded in doing something of the same thing with the Cromwellians. Mrs. Green has told that story. "It might have seemed impossible amid such complicated tyrannies to build up a united country. But the most ferocious laws could not wholly destroy the kindly influences of Ireland, the essential needs of men, nor the charities of human nature. There grew up too the union of common suffering. Once more the people of Ireland were being 'brayed together in a mortar' to compact them into a single commonwealth.

"The Irish had never lost their power of absorbing new settlers in their country. The Cromwellians complained that thousands of the English who came over under Elizabeth had 'become one with the Irish as well in affinity as in idolatry.' Forty years later these Cromwellians planted on Irish farms suffered themselves the same change; their children could not speak a word of English and became wholly Irish in religion and feeling. Seven years after the battle of the Boyne the same influence began to turn Irish the very soldiers of William. The civilisation, the piety, the charm of Irish life told as of old. In the country places, far from the government, kindly friendships grew up between neighbours, and Protestants by some device of good will would hide a Catholic from some atrocious penalty, would save his arms from being confiscated, or his children from being brought up as Protestants. The gentry in general spoke Irish with the people, and common interests grew up in the land where they lived together.

"The Irish had seen the fires of destruction pass over them, consuming the humanities of their law, the honour of their country, and the relics of their fathers: the cry of their lamentation, said an Italian in 1641, was more expressive than any music he had heard of the great masters of the continent. The penal days have left their traces. We may still see in hidden places of the woods some cave or rock where the people gathered in secret to celebrate mass. There remain memorials of Irishmen, cast out of their lands, who to mark their final degradation had been driven to the livelihood which the new English held in the utmost contempt—the work of their hands; their dead bodies were carried to the ruined abbeys, and proudly laid in the roofless naves and chancels, under great sculptured slabs bearing the names of once noble families, and deeply carved with the instruments of the dead man's trade, a plough, the tools of a shoemaker or a carpenter or a mason. In a far church in Connemara by the Atlantic, a Burke raised in 1722 a sculptured tomb to the first of his race who had come to Connacht, the figure in coat of mail and conical helmet finely carved in limestone. Monuments lie heaped in Burris, looking out on the great ocean; and in all the sacred places of the Irish. By their industry and skill in the despised business of handicrafts and commerce the outlaws were fast winning most of the ready money of the country into their hands."

[10] The man who was very probably the greatest of our American musicians in recent years was Victor Herbert whose tuneful music so full of charm yet not lacking in dignity nor rhythm proved so popular. A great many people are inclined to think of him as of some other nationality than Irish and above all he was thought to be German, but he himself corrected that false impression publicly on a number of occasions. He was a grandson of the Irish novelist Samuel Lover who wrote "Rory O'More." He was very proud to be for many years an active member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in New York and for several years toward the end of his life the president of that organization. His music represented for a time the last stand of real music against the flood of psuedo-musical compositions so insistently coming in.

[11] The assonance used by the earlier Irish poets might seem unsatisfactory for the music of verse to those accustomed to the full similar sound repetition of rhyme, but how much of music there might be in its

proper employment is very well illustrated by William Larminie's poem on Killarney so charmingly musical when read aloud and yet dependent entirely on assonance and not on rhyme.

"Is there one desires to hear
If within the shores of Eire
Eyes may still behold the scene
Far from Fand's enticements?

Let him seek the southern hills
And those lakes of loveliest water
Where the richest blooms of Spring
Burn to reddest Autumn:
And the clearest echo sings
Notes a goddess taught her.

Ah! 'twas very long ago,
And the words are now denied her:
But the purple hillsides know
Still the tones delightsome,
And their breasts, impassioned, glow
As were Fand beside them.

And though many an isle be fair,
Fairer still is Innisfallen,
Since the hour Cuchullain lay
In the bower enchanted.
See! the ash that waves today,
Fand its grandsire planted.

When from wave to mountain-top
All delight thy sense bewilders,
Thou shalt own the wonders wrought
Once by her skilled fingers,
Still, though many an age be gone,
Round Killarney lingers."

[12] Sedulius was manifestly the sort of man who would not be deterred by the difficulty of finding rhymes for he did not hesitate to add other peculiarities to the poetic structure of his hymns for the purpose of attracting special attention to them and he succeeded very well in overcoming the difficulty. The first of his hymns, the *Carmen Paschale,* is epanaleptic in form, that is as the Catholic Encyclopedia says, "in the distich, the second half of the pentameter repeats the first half of the hexameter. Up to line 48 the author sets in opposition the types of the Old Testament and the realities of the New, a theme very favorable to epanalepsis. The poem is only of interest for the history of typology. In the sequence of these 110 lines other antitheses are utilized, notably those of the benefits of God and the ingratitude of man. The other hymn is abecedarian. It is composed of twenty-three strophes, each of which commences with a letter of the alphabet. The strophe is made of four iambic lines (eight syllables). The structure of these lines is generally correct, excepting an occasional hiatus and the lengthening of syllables when in difficulties. . . ."

[13] **This Easter Song of Sedulius seems undoubtedly to have influenced** Milton deeply in his work. This influence is noticeable not so much in "Paradise Lost" as in "Paradise Regained." It is sometimes said that the second epic of which so much less is known than of "Paradise Lost" was Milton's own favorite among his poems. Dr. Sigerson in his annotated edition of "The Easter Song of Sedulius," has pointed out many parallel passages which are so close not only in idea but also in wording that it would seem to be quite impossible that Milton should not have read and actually had in memory at least certain parts of Sedulius. There are certain cross-correspondences between passages in the *Carmen Paschale* and "Paradise Lost" which serve to indicate that Milton must have been an attentive reader of Sedulius before writing his own great epic. Almost needless to say Milton's thought and mode of expression has shaped modern English thinking with regard to the other world and some of the basic truths of man's relationships to the Creator more than any other writing that we have with the exception of the Scriptures and almost more than that.

[14] Many have asked where is Kells and what is known of it? That is summed up in the fewest possible words by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. in his volume "The Book of Kells." They are worth repeating because they give some idea of the perils through which the book had to go. "The town of Kells, in County Meath in Ireland, lies some twenty miles west of Drogheda and the Irish Channel. It was known in days as early as St. Patrick's in the Latinised form of Cenondae, bearing at a somewhat later date the name of Cenannus and Kenlis. Kennansa was its old Irish appellation. Within its narrow precincts today there are still standing three very ancient and well known Irish stone crosses with characteristic carvings on them; an old church, the rebuilt remains of which date from the year 1578; a round tower— one of the many to be found still in Ireland; and a building which has long been described as the House of St. Columb.

"Of the famous monastery of Cenannus, or Kells, no trace remains— either of wall or foundation—but persistent tradition, with a strength that not infrequently outlasts both stone and mortar, has ascribed the founding of this vanished monastic institution to St. Columba. Irish historians have fixed the date of its foundation as about the year 550 A. D.

"Whether or not the famous Book of Kells, or as it is often called the Book of Colum Cille, was written and illuminated in the ancient town of Kells is a question still unsolved. The last few leaves of the Manuscript, which in all probability would have furnished us with full information as to both scribe, illuminator, and place of origin, have been missing for many years.

"The history of Kells and its Abbey from late in the ninth century to the end of the tenth is a tale of continuous struggle against foreign and domestic aggression. In 899 the Abbey was sacked and pillaged. In 918 the Danes plundered Kells, and laid the church level with the ground. Rebuilt, it was again spoiled and pillaged by the Danes in 946. Three years later, Godfrey, son of Sitric, plundered the Abbey. In 967 the town and Abbey were pillaged by the King of Leinster's son, supported by the Danes; but the allied forces were assailed and defeated by Domnald O'Neill, King of Ireland. Only a year later, the Abbey and

town were despoiled by a united force of Danes and Leinster people; while in 996 the Danes of Dublin made yet another pillaging raid on both the town and Abbey. How the Gospels of St. Columba survived this century of violence and spoliation it is impossible to say: we only know that they were preserved in the church at Kells in the year 1006, when, according to the earliest historical reference to the Manuscript itself, 'the large Gospel of Colum Cille' in its cover of gold studded with precious stones, 'the chief relic of the western world' was stolen by night from the greater church at Kells, and found, after a lapse of some months, concealed under sods, destitute of its gold-covered binding. It is not unlikely that most of the leaves now missing from the Manuscript disappeared at the same time.''

[15] It might easily be thought that this old-fashioned mode of decoration which was developed so charmingly in the Book of Kells and other old Irish manuscripts would now be entirely out of date and would seem in our day to be too primitive or even elementary to be used for decorative purposes. The English poet said, ''A thing of beauty is a joy forever,'' and this remains as true as when Keats said it. The truth of it is exemplified by the fact that the decorations of the Book of Kells can still be used very effectively and the charm of line and color so delightfully elaborated by the old Irish artists, still have the strongest kind of appeal to the aesthetic sense of mankind. The Irish mode of decoration has been revived in the modern time with wonderful effect not only for books but for churches and halls and for tapestries, stained glass and other decorative adjuncts. A typical example of this is to be seen in old St. Patrick's Church in Chicago. This is the oldest church in Chicago down near the new Union Station in one of the grimiest, busiest parts of the city. I remember it as it used to be in the old days because when one landed in Chicago on Sunday morning that was the nearest place to go to Mass. I shall never forget the delightful surprise I had when, wandering into old St. Patrick's one day, I found that it had been transformed into a veritable thing of beauty. An architect with genuine decorative sense had put in windows containing the motifs from the Book of Kells and had tinted the walls to correspond and had renewed the youth of what seemed an almost impossibly old church into something deserving to be seen for the very charm of it. I was not surprised to hear that the services on Sunday, even the Vespers, were well attended and that the mid-day Masses on week-days during Lent had to be held in both the upper and lower churches, because business people crowded so much to Mass in the deeply impressive old church. Neither was I surprised to learn that the music was of a character appropriate to the newly decorated church and that all Chicago had been attracted by it. After 1,200 years the charm of the old decorator of the Book of Kells was still a very living attraction, proving that humanity does not change so far as our sense of beauty is concerned, and a thing of beauty is indeed a joy forever. The same architect (Mr. Thomas O'Shaugnessy of Chicago) has applied similar wizardry to the details of the decoration of St. Catherine's Church at Spring Lake, New Jersey, though in this there was less scope for the application of Irish *motifs*. Very charming effects have been produced however and a striking demonstration of how modern are even the oldest of Gaelic ideas is made, because the Marquis Maloney

wished to express some of the ancient beauties of his motherland in this church which is a memorial to his daughter.

[16] This marvelous development of gold jewelry among the Irish is all the more striking because though we have immensely more of the precious metals in our day we have almost no jewelry in the proper sense of the word. What we have are pieces composed of precious stones worked up merely to display the stones, and exhibit their value. Genuine jewelry consists of precious metals and vari-colored stones worked by the hand of man until they are things of beauty that are "a joy forever." They are meant to produce pleasure in the mind of the beholder. The principal idea of jewelry as made in our time however is not to produce joy but envy. It is meant to demonstrate how much money can be kept idle for vain display. So true is this that it is said that some of those who have in their possession valuable pieces of jewelry composed of diamonds or other costly stones and precious metals have imitations of them made to wear on public occasions because of the danger of their being lost or stolen. So long as it is popularly known that they possess the valuable originals the imitations can be worn with equanimity. Dog collars of diamonds are like the score of coils of brass wire that the queen of Zululand used to wear around her neck. Brass wire was comparatively as expensive in Zululand as diamonds in America and there was the supreme consciousness on the part of the wearer that the great majority of people could not afford to wear anything so precious.

[17] The conversion of the whole Irish nation to Christianity without bloodshed and without the blood of martyrs to be the seed for missionary harvest is indeed one of the wonderful events of history. It is in such striking contrast with the conversion of nations to Christianity generally that it is no wonder there is a characteristic series of Irish expressions connected with it, one of which has been told as follows. The wording of it as I give it is from Mrs. John R. Green in her "Story of Irish Nationality" in the Home University Series. It runs—"At the invasion of the Normans a Norman bishop mocked to the Archbishop of Cashel at the imperfection of a church like the Irish which could boast no martyrs. 'The Irish,' answered the Archbishop, 'have never been accustomed to stretch forth their hands against the saints of God but now a people is come into this country that is accustomed to that and knows how to make martyrs. Now Ireland too will have martyrs.'" Everyone knows how amply that prophecy was fulfilled. There were many martyrs after the coming of the English and indeed there was scarcely a century under their rule when some of the witnesses for Irish faith and Irish nationality were not put to death.

[18] There had been other legal reformations about this same time. As Miss Bryant notes, "Roman Law was revised in the Christian interest during the years 435-8. Irish Law went quite independently through a similar process three years later, 438-41, six years after Patrick commenced his mission in Ireland. This process of revision, in one form or another, took place also in other ex-Pagan lands. The Salic Law had been drawn up by four eminent chieftains of the Franks, before the conversion of their tribes to Christianity. This was about the beginning of the fifth century, as it is supposed, and before A. D. 421. Towards

the end of the fifth century, this Salic Law was, after the baptism of Clovis, reformed by him in the several articles that appeared to be incompatible with Christianity. This drawing up of the Salic Law by pagans and its subsequent revision under the influence of Christian teachers all took place in the century in which the Senchus Mor was composed."

[19] Mrs. Alice Stopford Green has told the story of the poverty stricken Irish and their devotion to the things of the mind in spite of all the handicaps from which they suffered. "Among exiles in Connacht manuscripts perished, but old tradition lived on the lips of the peasants, who recited in their cabins the love-songs and religious poems of long centuries past. The people in the bareness of their poverty were nourished with a literature full of wit, imagination, feeling, and dignity. In the poorest hovels there were men skilled in a fine recitation. Their common language showed the literary influence, and Irish peasants even in our own day have used a vocabulary of some five thousand words, as against about eight hundred words used by peasants in England. Even the village dancing at the cross-roads preserved a fine and skilled tradition.

"Families, too, still tried to have 'a scholar' in their house, for the old learning's sake. Children shut out from all means of education might be seen learning their letters by copying with chalk the inscriptions on their fathers' tombstones. There were few candles, and the scholar read his books by a cabin fire in the light given by throwing upon it twigs and dried furze. Manuscripts were carefully treasured, and in days when it was death or ruin to be found with an Irish book they were buried in the ground or hidden in the walls. In remote places schools were maintained out of the destitution of the poor; like that one which was kept up for over a hundred years in county Waterford, where the people of the surrounding districts supported 'poor scholars' free of charge. There were some in Kerry, some in Clare, where a very remarkable group of poets sprang up. From all parts of Ireland students begged their way to 'the schools of Munster.' Thus Greek and Latin still found their way into the labourer's cottage. In county Cork, John Clairech O'Donnell, in remembrance of the ancient assemblies of the bards of all Ireland, gathered to his house poets and learned met to recite and contend as in the old days. Famous as a poet, he wrote part of a history of Ireland, and projected a translation of Homer into Irish."

[20] The modern interest of the Irish in education for its own sake is an earnest of that racial enthusiasm for it which characterized them in the older times. Mrs. Green has told the story of how even the poor Irish peasants clung to the idea of securing some education for their children and often in the poorest hovels listened to the recitals of their old folklore stories and bits from their literature from men skilled in fine recitation. No wonder that it has been found that the poor Irish peasants from the back districts of Connaught or over on the Aran Islands or Innishboffin have a vocabulary of some 5,000 words as against about 800 words used by peasants in England. As one whose grandfather was in a certain sense a hedge school master,—a teacher of the poor Irish children, under cover of the hedge because to teach them in a building of any kind would surely bring down on them the vengeance of a landlord,—I know these Irish traditions of love for learning very well. It was mainly

because he was a man of too many ideas teaching the children that my grandfather was turned out of his poor little cottage, the thatched roof of it burned off and the family left in the winter time to get what shelter they could by the roadside, for if any of the neighbors had taken them in they would have met with like fate. Grandmother's last child was born prematurely as the result of that awful experience. Grandfather had to emigrate to England and then to America but his love for teaching continued and it was he that taught me to read.

[21] Of course a large number of these remedies and substances recommended for the treatment of human ills by the old Irish were quite without any serious value. Some of them were even absurd. It must not be forgotten however that this is true all down the ages. A distinguished French physician said not very long ago that the remedies of any generation are always absurd to the second succeeding generation. In our day however, our remedies often come to be absurd even sooner than that. Various modes of treatment are introduced with enthusiasm that prove to be quite useless after a time. We have had any number of remedies for tuberculosis and for cancer as well as for erysipelas and other infectious diseases during the past generation, and none of them has proved to be of any enduring worth. The chapter of the "cures" that have failed is a very long one in the history of medicine. It is not surprising then that many of the Irish remedies seem to be absurd now since we have to go back only a generation or two to find equally absurd therapeutic suggestions.

[22] Some of the old Irish medical traditions with regard to childbirth were extremely interesting and significant and on a number of occasions I have been asked to talk about them before medical societies and particularly the Hospital of the Lying-In Alumni Association here in New York. It was the Irish custom to encourage the woman to have her child not in a lying but in a kneeling position. In this way she was able to help herself much more than she could in a recumbent position particularly if lying on her back. Most Irish families had a feather "tick" and this was rolled up and thoroughly covered so as to constitute a rather high soft pillow. The patient knelt on the straw tick or on some improvised substitute for it and the birth process took place in that position. It has been pointed out by Dr. King, the well known American obstetrician, that it is perfectly possible for a woman in this position to correct a number of the difficulties of labor for which artificial means are often employed. He has illustrated for example that the patient in these conditions may bring about a version that will lead to the completion of the birth process when otherwise that would be impossible. It was the custom to burn the straw upon which the woman knelt and thus prevent any possibilities of infection that might occur. This also maintained thorough cleanliness in the immediate environment of the mother.

The Irish women did not stay the conventional two weeks in bed after childbirth that afterwards became customary. The necessities of their household and the fact that while their children were little they had no one but the neighbor women and their husband to help with domestic concerns, got them out just as soon as possible. It was usually the custom in older times to sit up on the third day and to get around for some simple duties on the fifth day. Curiously enough the modern

obstetrician is now very much inclined to think that there should be some movements of this kind even as early as the third day and that instead of causing except in very weak patients various complications this activity rather prevents them. The poor Irish women had very little chance of gynecological care and of course the whole subject of gynecology has developed almost in our own time. The women were rugged, they lived out of doors a great deal, they exercised their muscles very faithfully and above all their trunk muscles, and the result was that the birth process instead of being considered a pathological event requiring the attendance of a physician, was looked upon as a physiological incident of life through which the woman might be expected to go without any need of a physician's attendance. Mothers usually were with their daughters in their confinement and beyond that the best they could do was to call in some "wise woman" of the district and take her advice.

[23] Mrs. Kellogg in her article in the *Atlantic* has emphasized the fact that the fame of St. Dympna or Dimphna extended far and wide. The benefits attributed to her were not granted only to the Belgians but also to many patients who came from long distances or were brought by their relatives in the hope that there might be some amelioration of their condition. She has dwelt on the fact also that the cures effected at the shrine of St. Dympna in Gheel represent no conflict between science and religion but on the contrary a very beneficent cooperation between them for the purpose of benefiting these poor patients who need all the sympathy that mankind can afford them for the amelioration of their unfortunate mental condition.

"Tradition reports wonderful cures in the name of St. Dimphna. And wonderful cures are still wrought in Gheel. Here is no conflict between science and religion, for the last word of science repeats the early word of religion. Today the city's device might well present Religion and Science, hands clasped, welcoming the innocent.

"We inspected the ancient cells, now kitchen and living quarters for Cathedral attendants, and passed into the churchyard by the lovely old door my guide of the morning had brought me to see.

" 'You will find buried here, with the villagers, demented ones from Poland, from Czechoslovakia, from other far places,' Dr. Sano pointed out, as we looked across the serried ranks of stones. 'They mingled in life; here they are together in death.' "

[24] This question of the number of the Irish who served during the Revolutionary War has only come up for solution in our generation. The more that old records are studied, the greater the number has proved to be. At first it was thought that particularly in New England there were almost none of them and now the question is whether a very large part or even the majority of those who fought in the Revolution from the northern states at least were not of Irish origin. It has been the custom to attribute such claims to exaggerated Irish-Americanism, and to point out that sufficient care is not taken to discount reenlistments of the same person, but the very fact of the occurrence of these reenlistments tells very strongly of the ardent patriotism for their adopted country of these Irish-American soldiers.

In a debate in the House of Commons near the end of the Revolution a speaker addressing the House went so far as to say that the majority

of the men who fought against the mother country over here were of Irish extraction. A generation ago this expression seemed absolutely absurd and due to misinformation or deliberate exaggeration in order to make a point, but after recent investigations it seems to be only the well-grounded impression of a contemporary who was in touch with actual events over here in America. The list of the men of my own name who were present at the battle of Bunker Hill is a typical example of the evidence that is accumulating as to the Irish in the Revolution. Most of them spelled their names with an *e* rather than an *a* as I do following ancestral custom, but in Ireland, as indeed by the Irish in this country, the family name is pronounced Welsh even when the name is spelled with an *a*. There were a good many interchanges of *a* and *e* in older English pronunciation, and clerk became clark, but catch became ketch, and in the same way Walsh became Welsh and then following the pronunciation was spelled with an *e*. There were some dozen of them of the name at Bunker Hill. On the official rolls of the Lexington Minute Men there were nearly as many of them. A man not on that muster roll but who did fine patriotic work in connection with the battle and throughout the Revolution, was Dr. Thomas Welsh, a namesake as well as an honored colleague. He was army surgeon to the patriots and when on the morning of that memorable April day "the shot was fired heard round the world," he met Dr. Joseph Warren and was told of the murderous work of the British regulars. Dr. Welsh blurted out with true Irish feeling for a square fight, "It's too bad they got away." "Never mind," said Warren, "we'll be up with them before night," and you will recall that they did catch up with them long before night—and to good purpose. Dr. Welsh attended the wounded after the Battle of Bunker Hill as well as after the battle of Lexington. After Bunker Hill there was more bloody work for the doctor to repair, but with the satisfaction that it had not all been for nothing.

The English themselves during the revolution seem to have been thoroughly convinced that the Irish formed a very important factor in what they called the Rebel Armies. Sir Henry Clinton in command of the English armies over here said, "Emigrants from Ireland are in general to be looked upon as our most dangerous antagonists." Ambrose Searle, agent for the British government, reported to Lord Dartmouth in 1776 that particularly Irish emigrants are in the rebel army and here they do Great Britain much injury by bringing over numbers and trades and so adding strength already too great to the force of America against her.

Mr. Michael J. O'Brien in his volume on "A Hidden Phase of American History" has gone to the muster rolls of the Continental army and shown that bearing one hundred old Irish surnames such as Murphy, Kelly, Burke and Shea there were over 12 000 soldiers among the troops that fought on the side of the Colonists during the Revolution. Nearly 1,500 officers among the Continental troops were of Irish birth or blood. These figures represent considerably more than one-third of the men who fought on the American side, which is probably about the same figure for the enlisted men in other American wars.

[25] One of the very oldest societies in this country is the Charitable Irish Society of Boston now approaching the two hundredth year of its existence. It was founded I believe in the '30's of the eighteenth century and boasts of a continuous existence since that time. The character of

its membership has changed from time to time but it has always continued to be representative of what was best among the Irish in Boston. In this regard it has probably not changed more in character than have the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia and New York while always continuing to be typically Irish so far as the population of their respective cities is concerned.

[26] A hint of the awful poverty of the Irish peasant a century ago is given in "The Journal of Clarissa Trant," London, 1926. Under the date *Oct. 10, 1824*, she has the entry in her journal, "Visited a wretched family who were actually living in a hole made between the angles of a hedge and covered with straw—the poor woman within three weeks of her confinement, her sick child stretched by her side." There are experiences like this in our own family annals. Some three years later under the date *April 22, 1827*, she writes, "The English peasant considers himself starving if he cannot afford to provide his family with tea and sugar; an Irish farmer is thankful if he can supply his children with a dozen potatoes for the day." This was about the time that my grandfather and grandmother left Ireland for they had the feeling that things were going to be worse—and much worse before they would be better. Potatoes had become the staple food of the country and just as soon as the potato crop failed there was famine and fever and deaths by the million. It must not be forgotten however that out of this starving Ireland there was actually exported more than enough grain and other foods to England that would have kept the poor Irish alive. There was literally no serious thought of the awful fate impending until after the appalling catastrophes of the famine had taken place and aroused the sympathy of the whole Christian world.

[27] Miss Stanley herself went to the Crimea and saw some of the work of the Sisters. Indeed she and Miss Taylor came to be very close friends of the Sisters and could scarcely part with them, delaying her return longer than she intended, putting off the necessity for saying goodbye to her "dear fifteen" as she called them. She did not return until she had been received into the Church by Father Ronan, one of the chaplains in the Crimea. When she returned to England she gave herself first to doing everything in the world that she could to make the lives of the soldiers in the Crimea and especially those who were wounded easier than before. Her Majesty, the Queen, sent for her and inquired anxiously what she thought the poor soldiers would like and she promised to send it to them as a present from herself. Miss Stanley's reply was, "Oh, I know what they would like—plenty of flannel shirts, mufflers, butter and treacle." Her Majesty insisted that all of these things should be sent. The doctors refused at first to distribute the butter and treacle because they would surely muss up everything. but Reverend Mother said that she would manage it and then the doctors consented and the soldiers were intensely pleased.

Miss Stanley became so taken with the idea of finding satisfaction in helping others that she devoted the rest of her life to one object of service after another. She organized in London a home for working women where they could obtain decent, respectable quarters without having to pay too much. She organized besides a laundry at Westminster, a penny savings bank, a society to distribute flowers to the poor in the

hospitals, and a contracting agency for government clothing entirely at her own risk whereby work was supplied to soldiers' widows and other poor women who needed it. She rendered besides valuable service during the cotton famine and also to the societies of aid to the sick and wounded on their return. She had a great heart for the "poor soldiers"; she thought nothing was too good for them and "she was right," is the remark made by Sister Aloysius in closing her memories of her in her little volume on the Crimea.

[28] How thoroughly the Sisters were appreciated for their work in the Crimea will be perhaps best understood from the reaction produced by them in a Scotch official, the Purveyor-in-chief to the army, who in person made careful inspection of the conditions under which their hospital work was done. Sister Mary Aloysius in her "Memories of the Crimea" has told how this official, Mr. Scott Robinson, before he paid them a visit had made a careful survey of the hospitals. This is what he found. "The ladies nearly all were ill; the nurses sick, too, and gone home and it appeared, as he stated, that it was the Sisters who were doing the work of the hospital. He called on Reverend Mother one day and requested to see our quarters. She at once showed him everything, and he expressed surprise that we were so badly lodged. At once he went through the hospital, even to the doctors' quarters, and made us out much better accommodation. He placed entirely at our discretion all the stores, food and clothing and told Reverend Mother to act as if the hospital were her own. (And this from a Scotchman!) He said that we need not trouble ourselves any more about reports to the War Office and that he would answer for us."

[29] It was not only the wounded and the soldiers who became ill in the ordinary course of duty whom the Sisters had to care for. There were epidemics of those two dread diseases so common and so inevitable in the East as we learned from our own experience during the late war, cholera and typhus fever. The cholera was of the very worst kind. Men who were attacked lasted only four or five hours. In an epidemic of this kind any remedies known to medical science were utterly without avail and we would be just as helpless in the presence of them in the present day. The Sisters did the best they could to console the poor soldiers while following out all the directions given by the doctors. The hospitals were awfully overcrowded. Vessels arrived and the orderlies carried in poor fellows who with wounds and frostbite had been tossing about on the Black Sea for two or three days and sometimes more. There were no beds for them. They were laid on the floor until the beds were emptied by those dying of cholera. Many died very soon after being brought in. "Their moans would pierce the heart." There was not a thought of rest for themselves on the part of the Sisters and two of them died (the wonder is that any survived the awful conditions) and were buried with martial honors and their graves were decorated by the soldiers who appreciated very much all that the Sisters were doing for the sick and the wounded.

Index

Abbess, Lady, 256
Abbey, Fort Augustus, 26
" Theatre, 84
abecedarian, 407
accent penultimate, 316
Achilles, Irish, 53
Adam, 119
Adamnan, St., 26, 65, 206; mother of, 284; Vision of, 74
Aelred, 402
afeared and *afraid,* 317
Africa, 76; South, 51, 399
again, 323
against, 324
Agilbert of Wessex, 29
agricultural schools, first, 219
Aicill, Book of, 237
Aidan, St., 21, 287
Aikenhead, Mother Mary, 364, 374, 390
"Ailing, History of Care for the," 350
Aimirgin, 108
Aix, 4
Aix-la-Chapelle, 35
Alcuin, 199, 403
Aldhelm, 30
Allen, J. Romilly, 136
Allison, Francis, 304
alma mater studiorum, Italy, 402
Alsace, 37
Altenmunster, 41
Alto, 41
"America Before Columbus, History of," 43, 404
"America, pre-Columbian, 33
America, pre-Scandinavian discovery of, 46
"America, The Pre-Columbian Discovery of," 47
America, South, 383
"American History, A Hidden Phase of," 414
amusement, insane antics, 353
Anderson, Dr., 152
Andersonville, 398
Andromache, Irish, 53
angli, angeli, 31
Anglo-Normans, 300
animals, cruelty prevention, 339
Annals of the Four Masters, 133
annalists, Irish, 16
Anne of Denmark, 97
Annegray, 35
Anselm, 210
anthropology, pioneer, 339
Anticosti, 404
antiphonary, Irish, 139
antiques, American, 47
aorist translation, 320
Apostle of the Irish, 13
Aquinas, Thomas, 210,403
Arabs, 401
Aran Islands, 79, 105, 118
Aranmor, 82
archeology, Irish, 168
Ardagh, Chalice of, 154
Areopagite, pseudo, 403
Aristotle, 178, 401
Aristotelianism, 401
Armagh, 196, 241; Book of, 139, 157
army purveyor, 416
art, Celtic, 136; Christian Celtic, 147; decorative, 136; Egyptian, 136, 165; Greco-Roman, 137; Greek, 136; Irish, 122, 165; primitive, 176; Roman, 136
Art Handbooks, South Kensington, 154, 163

"Art in Ireland, Early Christian," 124
Arthur, Chester A., 346
"Arts, The Lost," 69, 147
Arundel, Earl of, 289
Assicus, Bishop, 192
assonance, 107, 406
Assyria, 223
astrology, 401
Asylum for the Blind, 375
Asylum, St. Mary Magdalen's, 375
asylums, orphan, 356
Atkinson, Mrs., 264
"Atlanta Constitution," 329
"Augusta Chronicle," 329
Augustine, Mother, 366
" St., 21, 182, 199
Augustulus, 12
"Aurora" of Philadelphia, 329
Austin, St., 21, 182
Australia, 49
Australasia, 377
Austria, 36

Babylonia, 223, 238
Bacon, Lord, 324
Bailey, lexicographer, 323
balcony, 317
Barbary pirates, 180
bards, assemblies of the, 411; last of the Irish, 99
"Bards of the Gael and the Gaul," 282
Barry, Gerald, 92, 128, 268
Barrett, Mother Regis, 399
bassoon, 95
Bateson, 290
bath, hot air, 231
Bath, Wife of, 327
Bathurst, 377
Bavaria, 19, 36,43
Bavarians, 41
Bede, Venerable, 24, 29, 73, 114, 144, 200, 287, 403
Bedlam, 353
Begbie, Harold, 85
Belfast, 360
Belgium, 19
Bell, Alexander Graham, 248
"bell towers," 171
Bellevue Hospital, 351
Benedict, St., 23
Benignus, 284
Bennbuabhal, 95
Berard, Victor, 57
Berkley, 303
Bermondsey, 383; nuns, 387
Bernard, St., 202
bibliophile, 141
bigotry, 394
Birmingham, 383
Blackwell's Island, 391
Bladen, Mt., 201
blindness and marriage consanguinity, 248
Blockley, 352
Bobbio, 4, 35, 39, 202
Bollandists, 404
Boniface, St., 41
book, first road, 330
books, beautiful, 4, 120
Boone, Daniel, 347
Booterstown, 383
Boston, first daily paper in, 328
Boswell, 72, 403
Boyne, Battle of the, 406
Boysillus, Abbot, 29
Bracan, St., 242
Branford, Victor, 404
Bregenz, 39
Brehon laws, 206, 228, 231, 240
Brendan, St., 36, 43; the navigator, 286
Bres, wives of, 109
Breslins, 151
Bretagne, matière de, 79
Bricriu's feast, 79
Bridget, St., 6, 128, 197, 221; agriculturalist, 260; brazier of, 191, 263; European fame, 272; lawwise, 251; poems, 262; successors, 273

INDEX

Brigantium, 39
Brigh, 276
British Museum, 149, 150
Britons, 31
Brogan, St., Hymn of, 264
brogue, Irish, 8, 301; Shakespearean, 299
Broin Bearg, 228
Brompton, 93
brooch of Tara, 157, 158
Brunehault, 39
Bryant, Miss Sophie, 184, 236
Buchanan, James, 346
Buddhists, 227
buinne, 95
bulls, Irish, 69
Bunker Hill, 414
Burgundy, 37
Burk, John Daly, 328
Burke, 335
Burkes, 405
Burris, 406
Butler, General Ben, 397
Byrne, Dr. John, 336; Oliver, 332

cabbage stump, 245
Cable, Atlantic, 331
Cabot, Sebastian, 404
Caer Briton, 179
Caesarean operation, 236
Cairnech of Cornwall, 181; Memories of, 181
Caladbolg, 79
caletfwlch, 79
Caliburnus, 79
"Callino Casturane," 98
Cambrensis, Giraldus, 128, 268
Canada, 49
"Canada, The Irish in," 341
Canadian French, 8
Canal, Erie, 330; Middlesex, 332
Canterbury Tales, Chaucer's, 327
Capella Martianus, 92
Cappagh, 375
carbon, inks, 144
Carlow, 383
Carinthia, 43
Carinthians, 43
Carmen Paschale, 114, 407
Carolingian Period, Miniatures Before, 135
Carrickfergus, 202
Carroll, Archbishop, 334; Charles, 346; Louis Ely, 127
Carthage, 32, 42, 43
Carty, 231
Carver, Professor, 218
Cashel, 241; Archbishop of, 28
Cassidy, Father, 282
"Cassius, purple of," 146
castanet, 96
Castle, King John's, 169
Cataldo, St., 35
Cathal, 35
Catherine, Mother, 366
Catholic nun, 385
"Cattle Raid, The Cualnge," 57, 60
Catullus, 115
"Cave, the Ivy," 201
Celestine, Pope, 182
Cellach, 26, 117; The Lament of, 117
Celtique, Cours de Literature, 64
Cenannus, 408
Century Magazine, 56
Chad, St., 26; Gospels of, 140
Chalice of Ardagh, 154
Charaka, 227
Charlemagne, 19, 200, 213, 281, 403
Charles II, 97; the Bald, 211, 403; the Great, 19
Charleston, 335
Charlestown, 394
Charleville, 383
Charter, Irish Christian, 185
Charity, 362
Charity, Irish Sisters of, 364; Sisters of, 355, 364
Chavannes, Puvis du, 142
Chesapeake Bay, 44
"Chicago Tribune," 329

child labor, 356; slaves, 356
childbirth, 412
children, later, geniuses, 248
" schools for poor, 259
China, 399
cholera, 416; nursing, 369; panic, 370
Christian code, 184
" schools and scholars, 202
Christianity, Catholic, 49
"Christianity, The Gaelic Pioneers of," 50
Christi, Liber Generationis, 124
Christmas dinner, 380
"Chronicle, Augusta," 329
Church, Catholic, 49
Ciaron, 285
Cicero, 72
Cid, Ballads of the, 63
Cildara, 255
Cimabue, 24
"Cincinnati Gazette," 329
cities, Asiatic Greek, 401
civilization, definition of, 80
clairseach, 95
Clare, 411
Clares, Poor, 367
Clavius, 201
Clemens, 213
clergy, 303
clergymen, Protestant, 392
clerk, 303
Cleveland, Grover, 346
clinical training, 233
Clinton, De Witt, 330; Sir Henry, 414
Clogh Oir, 152
Clogher, Bishop of, 24
cloigtheach, 171
cloister hospitals, 351
Clonard, 241, 242; monastery of, 257, 285
Clonmacnois, 96, 116, 175, 201, 241, 403; Annals of, 300
Clonmel, 374
Clovis, 411
Cluain-Ednech, 201
Cochran, Dr. John, 335
Code, Irish, 190; Theodosian, 185
Codex Taurinensis, 105
coeducation, Irish, 285
Cogitosus, 255
Coleman, James, 332
College, Massachusetts Agricultural, 261
College, Physicians and Surgeons, 335
College, President of Princeton, 334
College, Trinity, 123, 149
College, Union, 334
Colles, Christopher, 329
Colman, 23, 36, 40
Cologne, 35
color vision, 142
colors, shell fish, 144
Colum, Padraic, 80, 81
Columba, St., 23, 34, 39, 404; Life of, 65, 133
Columbanus, 34, 37, 39, 202
Columcille, St., 20, 31, 133, 140
Comgall, 202
Conal, King, 204
Conan, Pope, 40
Concordance, Bartlett's, 324
Confederation, Canadian, 341; Fathers of, 341
Congested District Board, 230
Conlaeth, 263
Connacht, 406, 411
Connaught, 402
Connemara, 406
consanguinity, 247
Constance, 214, 215
Constantine, 185
"Constitution, Atlanta," 329
convent burned, 394
Coolidge, Calvin, 346; Professor Guy, 346
Copernicus, 201
Copley, John Singleton, 333
Corcoran, William W., 347
Cordova, 401

INDEX

Cork, 332, 360, 383
corn, 95
Coroticus, Epistle to, 194
Corrigan, Dr., 234, 361
Corterreal, 404
Cos, 225
Cosmographie Universelle, 404
cowcumber, 323
Craig, 96
crann cuil, 95
craoibh cuil, 95
Crawford, Thomas, 333
"Creatures, Hymn of the," 111
"Crimea, Memories of the," 416
Crimmins, John D., 332
Crockett, Davy, 347
Cromwell, 170
Cromwellians, 406
Cross, Manx, Scottish, Welsh, 175
Cruachan's land, 402
cruit, 95
Crusades, 145
Cuchulain, 53, 57, 64, 100, 281, 407
cuisleanna, 95
culture, medieval, 20
cures that fail, 412
Cuthbert, St., 26, 29; Gospels of, 140
cycle, conchobar, 57; Red Branch, 57, 100; Ulster, 57
cymbalum, 95
Cymbric, 78

Dagobert, 40
daimones, 67
Daire, daughter of, 284
Damasius, Pope, 27
Danes, 405
Dante, 72, 83, 132, 403; Irish precursors of, 72
Darwin, 190
Davies, Sir John, 187
deafness and marriage consanguinity, 248
Deaver, Dr. John, 337
Declan, St., 182
Declaration Signers, 345
De Costa, 46
Dee, Michael, 329
"Deer's Cry, The," 111
Deirdre, 53, 100, 281
Delaney, 335
Delaware, first governor of, 335
Derby, 303
De Roo, Father, 43, 405
Derry, 31
Desceliers, Peter, 404
Desmonds, 405
"Despatch, Pittsburgh," 329
"Detroit Evening News," 329
Dickens, 351
Dicuil, 213, 215, 403
Dies Irae, 148
dillisk, 243
dilse, 242
Dimma, Book of, 139
Dimphna, 290
Diuma, 26
"Divine Comedy, The," 74
Dixie, 89
Dobla, Bishop, 41
Dock, Miss, 350
dominions, Austrasian, 39
Donatus, St., 403
Donnchadh, 92
Donnybrook, 375
door and *floor,* 311
Dougherty, 335; Cardinal, 333
Dowland, John, 98
Dr. O'Curry's Lectures, 188
Drane, Augusta Theodosia, 202
Drogheda, 408
drouth and *drought,* 321
Druids, 110
Duane, William, 329
Dublin, 360, 371; Archbishop of, 380; hospital, 371; National Museum of, 150
Dubthach, 114
dulse, 242
Dumbarton, 179
"Dun, The Book of the," 62
Dungal, 213, 403
Dunlap, John, 328

Dunn, Professor, 57, 62
"Durham Book," 27
Durrow, 96, 175; Book of, 137, 138
Dympna, St., 290, 413; Shrine of, 293

Eadfrid, 27
Eadfrith, 134
Eata, Abbot, 29
Eber, 110
Eden, Garden of, 119
Edilhun, St., 26
Edmunds, Father Columba, 26
Education, Christian, 349; feminine, 250, 296; founder in, 6
educator, Irish woman, 250
Egbert, St., 26
Egypt, 50, 69, 223; hospitals in, 224
Eichstadt, 214, 215
Eire, 407
Ekkehard, 213
Elizabeth of Hungary, St., 252
Elizabeth, Queen, 96, 300
Elizabethean, 366; times, 8
Ellis, Mr., 308
Elmer, Oliver, 30
Emancipation, Catholic, 366
Emer, 53, 279
Emmet, Dr. Thomas Addis, 336
Emmitsburg Sisters, 355
Empire, British, 50
Encyclopedia, Catholic, 23, 228, 407
England, 19, 256; Apostle of, 23, 205
English, old-fashioned, 326
Eogan of Connaught, King, 116
Epanalepsis, 407
Epidaurus, hospital, 225
Epiphany, 115
Erc, 114
Erdulf, Bishop, 27
Eremon, 110
Erie Canal, 330
Erigena, John Scotus, 30, 92, 209, 211, 403
Erse tales, 56
Ethelwald, 134
Ethelwine, St., 26
Eumenides, 67
Eve, 119
Evelyn, John, 97
"Evening News, Detroit," 329
" Post, New York," 329
" Star, New York," 329
Excalibur, 79

Fabricius of Arezzo, 30
Faed Fiada, 111
faith, spiritual, 87
"Faiths of Ireland, Elder," 66
families, large, 248
famine, Irish, 415
Fand, 407
Farley, Cardinal, 333
Faroe Islands, 216
fascinatio nugacitatis, 253
Father of American Chemistry, 336
fault and *faut,* 314
Fawkes, Guy, 345
Fay, Thomas, 331
Feaden, 95
fees, physicians'; professional, 238
Feinechus, 184
female, judge, 276
Ferdiadh, 65
Ferghil, 41, 403
Fergus, 100
Fiacre, St., 35, 37
fidil, 96
Fiech, St., 258
Fiesole, 43
Findan, 213
Finian, St., 242, 257, 285; School of, 140
Finley, Samuel, 334
Finn, Son of Cumhall, 57, 64
Fintan, Abbot, 201
Fitzgerald, Thomas, 329
Fleay's, 308
Flood, Grattan, 23, 91, 95, 98
Foillon, St., 90

folklore, Irish, 66
Fontaines, 35
forenenst, 318
Forgall the Wily, 279
Fornaro, Carlo de, 391
Forrester, Simon, 332
Foster, John, 98
founder in feminine education, 6
Foxford, model town, 376
France, new, 404
Francis of Assisi, 111, 363
Frederick II, Emperor, 403
Free State, Irish, 277
Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 315, 406
Frick, Mr., 384
Fridolin, St., 35
Fry, Mrs., 358
Furies, 67
Fursa, St., 37, 90
Fursey, St., 35, 73

"Gael, The Women of the," 282
Gaelic law and women, 275
Gaelicisms, 318
Gaels, Mary of the, 7
Gaine, Hugh, 328
Gall, St., 4, 19, 35, 37, 90, 212
Gamp, Sairey, 351
Gataforda, 404
Gaul, 19, 199, 256
Gawayan and the Grene Knyght, 79
"Gazette, Cincinnati," 329
" Pittsburgh," 329
geniuses, missing, 249
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 79
Gerald the Welshman, 92, 133, 269
Geraldines, 405
German scholars, 17
Germanus, 181, 211
Germany, 19
Gersons, 267
Gertrude, Abbess, 90
Gheel, 290; cures, 413
ghettos, 360
Gibbons, Cardinal, 333
Gilbert, Sir John, 135
Gill, Thomas, 329
Gilman, Lawrence, 99
Gilmore, Patrick Sarsfield, 333
Giotto, 124, 145; O of, 125
Giraldus Cambrensis, 92
girl, six gifts of a, 279
Gladstone, 1, 341
Glencolumbkill, 52
God, Fatherhood of, 226
Godfrey of Malmesbury, 30
Godkin, Edward L., 329
Goffey, Diarmid, 153, 160
gold, tempting, 166
Goldsmith, Dr., 315
"good folk," 66
Goodell, President, 261
goold, 304
Gorman, ollave, 198
Gorres, 17
Gospel, spread of, 14; St. Cuthbert's, 134
Gospels, of Kildare, 269; of McBurnan, 140; of St. Chad, 140
Gougaud, Dom Louis, 50
Grant, Ulysses, 346
Graves, Dr., 234, 361
Greater Ireland, 44, 48
Greece, 223; Isles of, 401
Green, Alice Stopford, 18, 29, 37, 42, 411
Gregory, Lady, 84
" the Great, Pope, 21, 199
Greek, 2
Greeks, 1
Greeley, Horace, 329
Griffin, Gerald, 373
Gruffydd ap Cynan, 79
Gurlt, 401
Cuthbuinne, 95
Guthrie in Forfarshire, 152
gynecologists, 336
gynecology, 413

Hackley, 375
Hadrian, 185

haematite, chrome, 146; red, 146
hair, luxuriant, 232
half-doors, Irish, 230
Hall, John, 334
Hammurabi, Code of, 238
Hancock, Dr. Neilson, 185
happiness, secret of, 87
Harding, Warren G., 346
Harp, Brian Boru, 96
harpers, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, 94
Harrington, Father, 218
Harrison, Benjamin, 346
Hartley, Professor, 146, 147
Harvey, 201
hats, tight, 232
Haughery, Margaret, 348, 395
Hawthorne, 405
Hayes, 333; Rutherford B., 346
heads, bare, 232
Healy, Archbishop, 28, 199; George P., 333
Hebrews, I
Hebrides, 39, 81, 204
Helen, 58; Irish, 53
Hellenizing, 209
Hennessy, William J., 333
Henry II, 300; of France, 404
Herbert, Victor, 333, 406
Herodias, 40
Herodotus, 59, 216
Hibernicus, Petrus, 403
Hieric, 211
High Cross, 168
Hilda, St., 267, 287
Hindu poems, 105
Hindustan, 227
"History, A Hidden Phase of," 343
Hoffman, 91
Holland, John P., 331
Holy Grail, 154
Homer, 58, 63, 72, 132, 208, 411; Women of, 279
Hoover, Herbert, 294
Hospice, St. Joseph's, 375
Hospital, Bellevue, 351; Blockley, 352; Children's, 375; Dublin, 371; Mercy, 384; Misericordia, 384; Mt. St. Evins, 377; St. Mary's, 375; St. Patrick's, 375; St. Vincent's, 374
hospital visiting, 381
hospitals, cloister, 351; for poor, 224; public, 223
hospitality, Irish trait, 251
"houses, sweating," 235
Houston, Sam, 347
Howard, John, 358
Howth, Garland, 139
Hungary, 36
hunger for learning, 14
Hughes, Archbishop, 334
Huxley, 210
Hvitramamaland, 44
Hyde, Dr. Douglas, 55, 104, 255, 300

Ibar, 258
Iberia, 256
Iceland, 19, 43, 216
I-Colmkill, 39, 205
Iliad, 63
illuminators and St. Patrick, 191
" Irish, 135, 142
Ina of Wessex, King, 30
Inhiquin, house of, 331
influences, Byzantine and Oriental, 145
ingenium perfervidum Scotorum, 400
Inisfail, 65, 402
inks, carbon, 44
Inman, Henry, 333
innians, 244
Inniscathy, 23
Innisfallen, 407
insane, antics, amusement, 353
instruction, children, 379
intubation, laryngeal, 338
Iona, 20, 24, 26, 32, 205
Ireland, Archbishop, 334
" Early Christian," 121, 173
" Line of," 345
" Literary History of, 300

INDEX

Ireland, the Great, 44
" The Glories of," 127, 160
" women's rights in, 277
Irish American soldiers, 413
" antiphony, 139
" blood, American wars, 414
" brogue, Elizabethan, 297
" bulls, 69
" coeducation, 285
" English, 312
" famine, 415
" in Revolution, 344, 414
" in the arts, 332
" jewelry, 410
" liberty, order and law, 184, 410
" martyrs, 410
" melodies, 5
" parchment, 145
" peasant vocabulary, 411
" "scholar," 411
" teeth, 246
Irishry, 298
Irland, 46
"Irland ed Mikla," 44, 48
"Island, Father Allan's," 80
Island of saints and scholars, 3, 13, 178
"Islands, The Aran," 83
Ita, St., 281
Italy, 19
Italy, saints in, 404
"Item" of Philadelphia, 329

Jackson, Andrew, 346
Jacobean times, 8, 366
jail, Kilmainham, 369
James I, 97, 187, 319
" IV, Acts of, 319
Jarlath, School of St., 286
Jerome, St., 27, 199
Jeruman, 26
Jerusalem, 43
Jervis Street Hospital, 234
Jesuit Relations, 343
Jesukin, 282
jewelry, beautiful, 4; gold, 410; Irish, 410
Jezebel, 39
John of Salisbury, 93
Johnson, Andrew, 346
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 304, 315
Jon, Junius, 289
Jonson, Ben, 98, 324
Joseph the Scot, 200
Joseph, St., Female Orphanage, 375
journalism, American, 328
Joyce, Dr. P. W., 78, 89, 105, 150, 162
Jubainville, M. D'Arbois de, 64

Kain, Archbishop, 334
Kaiserswerth, 386
Keane, Archbishop, 334
Keanes, 151
Keating, John, 329, 331
Keats, 401
Keble, 373
"keening," 65
Keith, 339
Keller, Dr. Ferdinand, 163
Kellogg, Mrs. Charlotte, 294, 413
" Vernon, 294
Kells, 29, 408; Abbey of, 408; Book of, 123, 126, 147, 268, 408; date, 134
Kelly, Dr. Howard A., 337
Kelvin, Lord, 331
Kenanus, 28
Kenlis, 408
Kennansa, 408
Kenny, Sir Edward, 342
Kenricks, the, 334
Kent, Apostle of, 23, 182, 205
Kenton, 347
Kerry, 411
Kevin of Glendalough, St., 258
Kildare, Abbey of, 256; Gospels, 269; great school, 255
Kilian, 40
Kilkenny, 329,374
Killarney, 407
Kilmichael Glassory, 152
kilt and *leapt*, 325
King, 412

Kingstown, 383
Kircher, 201
Korea, 399

labor, manual, 220
Laeghaire, 184
Laennec, 234
Laffan, William, 329
Lambeth, 140
Lamentations, 99
Laoghare, 284
La Pitié hospital, 371
Lateran Council, 214
law, Irish, 410; Roman, 410; Salic, 410
Leary, James D., 332
Leinster, 402
Leoba, St., 290
Lexington Minute Men, 414
Libby, 398
library, Home University, 30
Liége, 35, 213
Lightfoot, Bishop, 21
Liguria, 36
Limerick, 383
Linacre, 201, 402
Lindisfarne, 21, 24, 29, 32, 182, 205
" Book of, 130, 135
" Gospels, 27, 140
Lir, Children of, 65
Lismore, 31, 377
literature, Aryan, 34; Gaelic, 54; great Irish, 52; Hindu, 55
"little people," 66
Lodge, Senator Cabot, 344
Lok, Michael, 404
Longfellow, 75
Lorraine, 37
Lothar, King of Lombardy, 403
Louis XIV, 8
Lounsbury, Professor, 301, 325
Lover, Samuel, 333, 406
Luanus, 202
Lucan, 115
Lucca, 43
lutenists, 98
Luxeuil, 34, 43
Luxivium, 34

Macaulay, Lord, 61
MacBeolans, 151
MacDowell, Edward, 99, 333
MacEnery, Father John, 340
Macha, Princess, 228
Mackay, John W., 330
MacKenzie, Francis, 334
MacNeill, Professor, 109
MacNessa, King Conor, 251
MacNevin, Dr. William J., 335
MacQuirks, 15
Madison, James, 346
"Maeldune, Adventures of," 78; "The Voyage of," 78
Maengal, 91
Maeve, Queen, 100
Magrath, William, 333
Magyars, 213
Maine, Sir Henry, 1, 61
malachite, 146
Malines, 35
Malmesbury, 21; Geoffrey of, 30; William of, 30
Maloney, Marquis, 409
man, brotherhood of, 226
"man of three tongues," 206
Mangan, James Clarence, 373, 402, 405
Manning, Cardinal, 384
Marcellus, 91
Marconi, 331
Marcus, 74
Margaret's bakery, 397
Margaret Place, 396
marriages, consanguineous, 247
Marseilles, 4, 15
Marston, Ari, 46
Martial, 115
Martin, "Humanity," 338
Martin, Wood, 66
martyrs, Irish, 410
Mary of the Gaels, 7, 251
" " Munster, 281

Mayo, Earl of, 241
McAllister, R. A. S., 135
McAuley, Mother, 363, 378, 390
McBurnan, Gospels of, 140
McBurney, Dr. Charles, 337
McCalla, 335
McCloskey, 335; Cardinal, 333
McCormick, 331
McDermott, Cormac, 97
McDonald, John B., 332
McDonough, 335; John, 347
McDowell, Dr. Ephraim, 336
McEnhills, 151
McGee, 335; Thomas D'Arcy, 341
McGeoghegan, 25
McGrady, James, 334
McHenry, 335
McKean, Thomas, 346
McKinlay, Dr. James, 335
McKinley, William J., 346
McMahon, 335
McManus, Seumas, 158, 338
Meath, 402
medicine, ancient Irish, 206, 223
" Irish School of, 234, 361
Medill, Joseph, 329
Melbourne, 377
melodies, Irish, 5
Melrose, 29
Memmingen, 215
Memphis, 329
Mercator, 404
Mercier, Cardinal, 210
Mercury, New York, 328
Mercy, Sisters of, 363, 380, 391
Merrion, 374, 375
Merrivale, Very Reverend Dr., 38, 41
Meyer, Kuno, 16, 77
Mialros, 29
Michelangelo, 125
Middlesex Canal, 332
Middleton, Prof., 134
Mil, 109
Mile, 108
Milesians, 108
Millet, Francois, 176
Milton influenced, 408
Missionaries, Irish, 9, 16; modern Irish, 349
Moedoc, Shrine of St., 153
Moengal, 212
Moling, Book of St., 139
Molua, 202
Monasterboice, 96
monasteries and schools, 17
" double, 290
monastic women, 222
monasticism, Irish, 290
monk agriculturists, 219
Montalembert, 22
Moore's Irish melodies, 99
Moran, Cardina, 28, 199, 266; Thomas, 333
"Mother of the Orphans," 395
Moynihan, Dr. Berkeley, 337
Mrs., 366
Mugint, St., 286
Mullanphy, Brian, 347
Multiscilus, Ara, 19
Munster, 402
Muriadach, 28
Murphy, Dr. John B., 337, 383
" John McL., 332
Murray, Bishop, 364, 380
" Henry, 333
" Miss Amy, 79
Museum, South Kensington, 154
music, Irish folk, 89
muster roll, Massachusetts, 344
muthos, 67
mythology, Irish, 67

Naesi, 100
Nagle, Nano, 367, 381
Naples, 42, 43; University of, 403
Napoleon, 360
"Nationality, The Irish," 30, 42, 198, 410
nature, law of, 186
Navigatio Brendani, 44
navigation, St. Brendan's, 404
Neagle, John, 333

neether and *nayther,* 305
Negra, Constantine, 103
neo-Platonists, 403
Newgate, 358
Newman, 373
New Orleans, 395
"New York Evening Post," 329
" " Evening Star," 329
" " Sun," 329
" " Tribune," 329
New Zealand, 49
Nightingale, Florence, 10, 384; letters of, 388
Normans, 405
Northumbria, Apostle of, 24
" King of, 402
Norway, 19
Notker, 214
numerals, 401
nun's training, 385
Nuremburg, 214
nursing, cholera, 369
"Nursing, History of," 350
" The Dark Period of," 350
Nutt, Andrew, 55
Nutting, Miss, 350

oboe, 95
O'Brien, Fitzjames, 405
" Michael J., 331
" Mrs. William, 369
obstetrics, traditions in, 412
O'Cahal, Donald Dubh, 97
O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey, 342
O'Carolan, Turlough, 99
ochres, 146
O'Connell, Cardinal, 333
" Daniel, 380
O'Connor, William D., 329
O'Conor, Ruaidhri, 198
O'Cool, 335
O'Curry's lectures, 188
Odilon, 40
Odin's Valhalla, 40
Odonellus, 205
O'Donnell, John Clairech, 411
O'Donovan, 134
" William D., 333
Odoric, 46
O'Dwyer, Dr. Joseph, 338
Odyssey, 57, 63, 73
Oels, 215
O'Fallon, John, 347
O'Grady, Standish, 100
O'Heney, Matthew, 28
Oliver, 329
Ollam poet, 114
Omer, St., 36
O'Neill, 329
" Captain Francis, 91
onions, 244
O'Reilly, 97
" Henry, 330
" John Boyle, 226
Orkney Islands, 85, 217
O'Rorkes, 151
O'Rourke, John H., 332
orphans, 356
orpiment, 146
Ortelius, 404
O'Shaugnessy, Thomas, 409
Osler, 352
Osteographie, 340
Oswald, 24
Oswy, St., 26
ould art, old earth, 313
"Our Margaret," 395

Paderborn, 35
Palfrey, 343
Palladius, 193
Panda, 25
Panmure, Lord, 390
Papey, 217
Papar, 217
Papineau, 345
"Paradise Lost," 408
" Regained," 408
parchment, Irish, 145
Pasteur, 203
Patrick, St., 6, 12, 13, 15, 197; Bell of, 151, 177; Church of, 409; Christians before, 182;

Patrick, St., *Confessio* of, 179, 195; Friendly Sons of, 345, 406; in History, 405; Tripartite Life of, 195; virtues of, 262
Pavia, University of, 403
peak, Slewmargy's, 402
Pelham, Henry, 333
pellagra, 352
pens, metallic, 143; quill, 143
Pepin, 90
Perry, Walter Copeland, 279
"Perth, The Fair Maid of," 61
Peter's Bark, 125
Petrarch, 76
Petri, Dr., 91
"Philadelphia Aurora," 329
Philadelphia, first daily paper in, 328
"Philadelphia Item," 329
Philippine Islands, 399
Phillips, Wendell, 69, 147
Philoponi, Honorius, 404
physicians' fees, 238; houses, 229
physicians, "lawful" and "unlawful," 239
Physicians and Surgeons, College of, 335
Picts, 19, 31, 204
pigments, Irish, 145
Pinkerton, Dr., 65
piob, 95
pipai, 95
"Pittsburgh Despatch," 329
" Gazette," 329
Planxties, 99
Plato, 72
Plearacas, 99
Poe, Edgar Allen, 405
poem, earliest Irish, 108
" Larminie's, 407
poems of Bridget, 262
poetry, rhyme in, 57, 103
" thread of, 108
"pokers, holy," 374
policemen, Irish, 404
Polk, James K., 346
Pope, 306, 315
Portumna, 241
potato skins, 243
poverty, Irish, 415
Powell, York, 54
Power, Father, 158, 173
pre-Christian Irish, 13
Presentation convent, 381
" order, 367
Press, Princeton University, 404
preussische Jahrbucher, 33
prisoners, Confederate, 397
" Federal, 397
"Prometheus—Christ," 226
pronunciation, Elizabethan, 299; English, 8; "in English," 323; old-fashioned, 299; Shakespearean, 307
proverbs, Irish, 67
puerperium, 412
"Purgatory, A Modern," 391
" St. Patrick's, 76
"purple of Cassius," 146
Pusey, Dr., 373
Putnam, Mrs. Emily James, 256

quackery regulation, 240
quadrivium, 211
Quakers, 358
Quiggan, E. C., 78
Quigley, Archbishop, 334
quill pens, 143
Quinn, John, 335; Walter, 97
Quixote, Don, 68

rabbis, 392
Radegunde, Queen, 40
Rafn, 46
Raphael, 148
Ratisbon, St. James of, 214
Ratpert, 214
Read, George, 346
realgar, 146
reaper, 331
reasons and *raisons*, 308
Reeves, Rev. Dr., 21
receive and *resave*, 305

Regiomontanus, 201
Relations, Jesuit, 343
religion and science, 413
" shepherds', 180
remedies, absurd, 412
remuneration, 390
Renaissance, 2, 12, 175, 402
"Review, American Ecclesiastical," 340
Revolution, Irish in, 344, 414
Revolutionary War, 413
Rheinau, 213
rhyme in poetry, 5, 7, 103
" not cramping, 107
Riordan, Archbishop, 334
Roach, John, 332
road book, first, 330
Rogers, Samuel, 316
Roland, Song of, 280
Roman law, 410
Rome, 43
Rome and *room,* 303
Ronnat, 284
Roosevelt, President, 54, 278, 280, 317, 346
Rosg, 109
rotta, 95
Round Tower, 168; Danish, 169; origin of, 168
route and *rout,* 310
Rupert, St., 41
Ruskin, John, 132
Rutledge, Edward, 346
Ryan, Archbishop, 334

sabbatic period, 241
sagas, Irish, 3
"Sagas, The Ancient Irish," 56, 280
Saint Gaudens, Augustus, 333
"saints and scholars, island of," 3, 13, 178
saints, Irish, 404
"Saints, The Well of the," 82
Saintsbury, Professor, 148
Salem, 332
Salzburg, 4, 42, 43; Archbishop of, 403
Sanskrit, 55
Sassenach, 119
Saxon Quarter, 31
Scattery Island, 23, 152
schedae de Islandia, 19
scholars, Irish, 411; "poor," 411
schoolmaster, hedge, 411
science and religion, 413
Scotland, 39, 204
"Scotland in Early Christian Times," 152
Scotorum ingenium, 400
Scott, Darby, 97; Sir Walter, 61
Scotus, Marianus, 403
" Sedulius, 212
Scriptures, 208
Searle, Ambrose, 414
Sedulius, 114, 407, 408
Senchus Mor, 184, 186, 411
Shahan, Bishop, 35, 38, 63, 75, 405
Shakespeare, 8
Shakespeare's brogue, 327
" pronunciation, 297
Shakespearean puns, 307
shall and *will,* 320
shampooing, 231
Shannon, navigation of, 329
shell fish, colors, 144
shepherds' religion, 180
shrine, 151
"sick maintenance," 236
Sigebert, 25
Sigerson, Dr., 112, 117, 282, 403
Signers, Declaration, 345
Slane, Hill of, 110
slaves, child, 356
Sleamish, Mountain of, 180
Sletty, 258
slums, worst, 360
Smith, John Blair, 334
" James, 346
" Richard, 329
Smyth, Thomas, 334
social service, 9, 296, 349, 362; abuses, 9
Society, American Irish Historical, 328

Society, Royal Dublin, 147
" Royal Historical, 290
Soissons, 35
soldiers, Irish American, 413
Somerset, William, 30
Sonata, Keltic, 99
"soothering tongue," 119
Sorrow, House of, 228
soul and *sowl,* 309
South Seas, 80
speech organs, 298; defects of, 298
Spencer, Herbert, 190
Speranza, 162
Stanley, Dean, 387
Stanley, Mary, 387; conversion of, 415
state, nascent, 4
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 180
stoc, 95
Stokes, Dr., 234, 361
Stokes, Miss, 28, 123, 125, 134, 138, 151, 154, 162, 174, 403
Stowe Missal, 139
Strathclyde, 179
Streonshalh, 267, 286
St. Cuthbert's Gospel, 134
"St. Patrick in History," 63
"St. Patrick's Purgatory," 76
sturgan, 95
Suabia, 36
submarine, 331
Sullivan, Dr. W. K., 188
Sullivan, Sir Edward, 128, 131, 133, 192, 270
Sullivan, John, 332
"Sun, New York," 329
superioress scrubbing, 368
Sutton, Sir Edward, 97
"sweating houses," 235
Switzerland, 20
Sydney, 377
Synge, 79, 82

Tacitus, 273
Taft, William H., 346
"Tain Bo Cualnge," 60, 61
tales, Irish, 77
Tara, 110; brooch of, 157, 158
Tarentum, 35, 43
Taylor, George, 346
" Miss, 415
teaching, clinical, 233
teeth, Irish, 246
Telegraph, The Postal, 330
Temair, 109
Tennant, William, 334
Tennyson, 78
Terence, 115
Teresa, St., 68; letters of, 374
"Teutons, The Continental," 38
" women of the, 273
Thecla, St., 290
Theodosian Code, 185
Theodosius the Younger, Emperor, 114,185
Thevet, 404
Thomas the Apostle, St., 45
Thompson, Sir Edward, 192
" the sculptor, 333
" William, 331
Thornton, Matthew, 346
thrapple, 322
Thuringia, 40, 43
timpan, 95
Tnudgal, 74
Todd, Dr., 134
tonsure, Irish, 138
Toowoomba, 378
Tours, 4
Tracy, Patrick, 332
Tralee, 43
"Trant, Journal of Clarissa," 415
trephining, 235
"Tribune, Chicago," 329
" New York," 329
trifles, witchery of, 253
Trichinopoli work, 158
trivium, 211
Troy, 59
Trumhere, 26
tuberculosis, 230
Tundale, Vision of, 74
Tuotilo, 214

Turner, Bishop, 200
Turpin, Archbishop, 281
typhus fever, 416
typology, 407

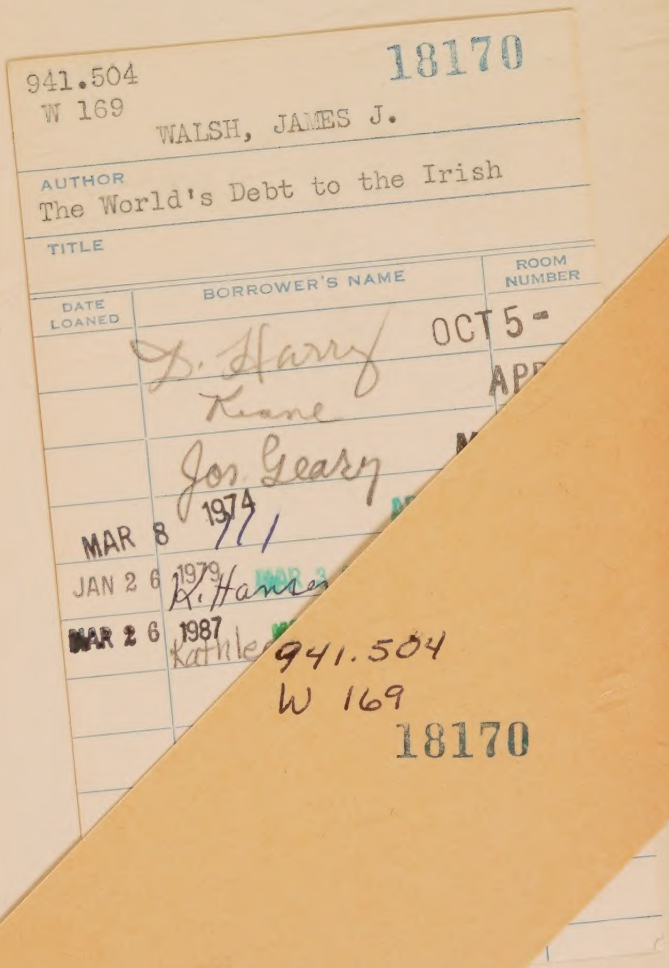
Ullard, 96
Ulster, 402
Ultan, St., 90
Union Station, 409
" Western, 330
United States, 80
University, Aberdeen, 210; Irish, 197
"Unseen Friends," 369
Ursulines, 367
Usnach, Son of, 281

Vail, Theodore, 330
Valentinian, 186; III, 114
Valhalla, Odin's, 40
Valley, Shenandoah, 334
Vasari, 124
Vedic India, 55
vegetables, raw, 245
"Venice, Stones of," 132
Verdun, 35
Vere, Aubrey de, 193, 284
Vesalius, 201
Victoria, Queen, 415
Vienna, 214
Vineland, 44
Virgil, 72, 115, 199, 213
Virgilius, 41, 403
vision, color, 142; literature of, 71
visiting, hospital, 381
Vita Columbae, 65
vitamins, 244

Waddell, James, 334
Walker, 303
"walking nuns," 370
Walsh and *Welsh,* 303
Walsh, Miss Alicia, 365; Patrick, 329
Warde, Mother, 383, 394
Ware, 29
Warren, Dr. Joseph, 414
Waterford, 274, 411
"Waverley," 61
Wearmouth, 287
Welsh, Dr. Thomas, 414
"West, The Conversion of the," 38
" The Monks of the," 22
Wexford, 332
Whalen, Hon. Edward, 342
Whitby, 26, 267
White, Richard Grant, 306
Whitman, 405
Wilde, Oscar, 162; Sir William, 162; Speranza, 162
Wilfrid, St., 26
William, King, 406
Williamson, 335
Wilson, Woodrow, 346
Winsor, Justin, 47
Wiseman, Cardinal, 373
woman, Brehon, 276; first statue of a, 396
women, college for, 254; monastic, 222; "ten day," 351; workers, 349
women's rights in Ireland, 277
Wordsworth, 193
works, good, 350
"World, The Catholic," 338
writers, Irish Christian, 71
Writings, Sacred, 208
Wurzburg, 40; 214

Yankee Doodle, 89
Yeats, 82
yes and *yis,* 301
yet and *yit,* 302
York, Archbishop of, 26

Zachary, Pope, 42
Zeuss, 104
Zimmer, Professor Heinrich, 20, 33, 198, 211, 216, 217
Zimmerman, Dr. E. H., 135
Zululand, Queen of, 410


941.504
W 169
18170
WALSH, JAMES J.
AUTHOR
The World's Debt to the Irish
TITLE
DATE LOANED
BORROWER'S NAME
ROOM NUMBER
D. Harry Keane
OCT 5 -
Jos. Geary
MAR 8 1974
JAN 2 6 1979
MAR 2 6 1987
941.504
W 169
18170